THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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VOL. XXII | OCTOBER, 1947 | No. 4

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Published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., New York City.

Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Robert M. Smith, Department of English, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Penna.

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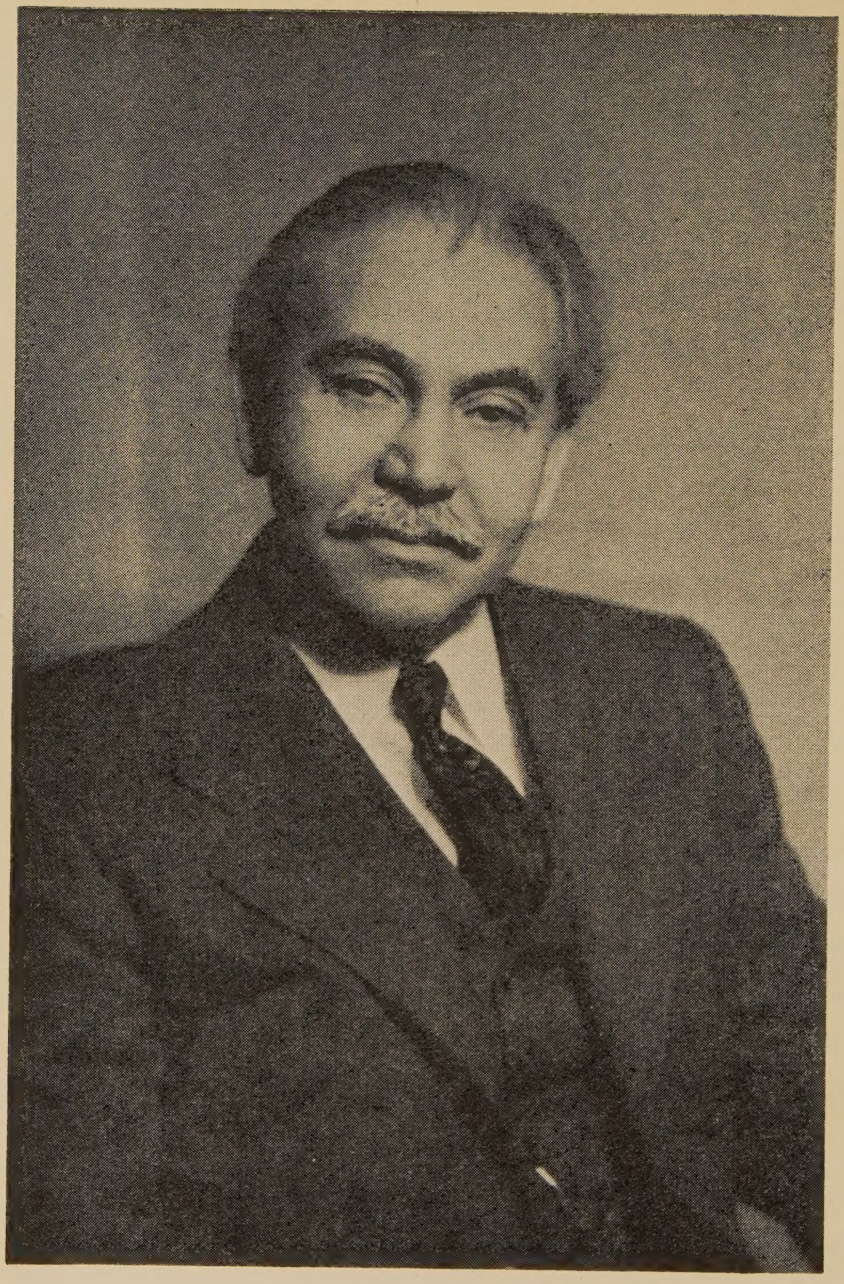

DR. SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

DR. SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

DR. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, editor of our Shakespeare Association *Bulletin* for many years, now hands the editorship and secretaryship over to Robert M. Smith of Lehigh *(pro tem)* who begins his labors with this issue.* Our faithful editor and bibliographer has been seriously ill from overwork for several months and has been compelled to scale down his labors. He and Mrs. Tannenbaum have consented, however, to continue as contributing editors of the Annual Bibliographies, which have always been the indispensable part of the *Bulletin.*

When Lehigh University in 1932 conferred upon Dr. Tannenbaum an L.H.D., she did not confer the degree for his reputation as one of New York's leading physicians in the field of psychiatry, nor as an evening teacher of Shakspere at Hunter College, but as a bibliographer and an authority on Shakspere handwriting and Shakspere forgeries.

If Samuel Johnson deemed lexicographers "harmless drudges," one wonders what he would have called bibliographers; for few persons realize the labor involved in a biblography or why anyone should ever undertake a task so little appreciated; fewer yet realize why bibliographers are the opposite of "harmless."

The Rare Book fraternity and the Autograph trade have been inclined to consider the term bibliography applicable only to scientific analysis of fine points and slight differences in rare volumes and documents. In recent years, however, they have begun to realize only too well that bibliographers are something more than "harmless." Let one of these scientific examiners like John Carter, or Henrietta Bartlett, the dean of women in this field, especially for *Shakespere Quartos,* analyze for fine points and slight differences in rare items and begin uncovering chicanery, and presently a bibliographer becomes occasionally the hope, but more frequently the despair, of the trade and the private collector. For some miserable bibliographer may come along any day and prove, by pointing out a few differences, that the dealer's item is a forgery or a "made-up" edition or is only

*The new editor gratefully acknowledges editorial assistance from his colleagues, Professors S. Blaine Ewing, Glenn J. Christensen, J. Burke Severs, Carl F. Strauch, and E. B. Everitt of Lehigh.

the second issue or edition, or that the title is in facsimile,—and thousands of dollars go up in smoke.

The term bibliography, however, should not be so confined; it should cover such bibliographies, which are not so perilous, as the Tannenbaums have put out for years at the cost of incalculable time, energy, and eyesight. Their notable series, which is indispensable, has involved through the years a labor of love for scholarship without hope of recognition or reward.

Sometimes referred to slightingly as "mere library work," they are, nevertheless, indispensable to graduate seminars in the Renaissance and Jacobean periods. Anyone who has sent his students to them knows what a saving of labor for students and research scholars the Tannenbaums have conferred upon scholarship by a labor the reverse of profitable and, let me repeat, without hope of adequate recognition or reward.

I have sometimes been asked: "How was it done? they must have an army of assistants." Not at all! Both the research at the libraries and the transcriptions have been performed largely by Dr. Tannenbaum himself searching through endless periodical files and transcribing the descriptions on cards in the long hours of the night and far into the morning. This labor, with all his other tasks of running a large and exacting practice, teaching Shakspere two evenings a week, appearing as expert witness in court inquiries concerning fraudulent documents, could not have been carried on without a perfectly disciplined schedule and a devoted and indefatigable household, both of which he has enjoyed. And yet he has always found time to greet scholars of standing who sought him out for advice and has generously put at their service his large library of books and his extremely wide knowledge.

The Shakespeare Association and the scholarly world at large are far more indebted to him than they will ever know. We may therefore take this opportunity to express the profound thanks of the Association in bidding him Godspeed to less ambitious and more restful days.

ROBERT METCALF SMITH

Lehigh University

THE FIRST PERFORMANCE OF *MACBETH*

By Henry N. Paul

Dean of the Shakspere Society of Philadelphia

THE recent appearance of Mr. Dover Wilson's edition of *Macbeth* is an event of moment in the Shaksperian world for all of his work is full of helpful information, discovery, and suggestion. Among other points of interest the Introduction to this volume (p. xxviii) makes still more probable the suggestion, first made by Malone, that the play was written for performance before King James and his brother-in-law King Christian of Denmark during the visit of the latter to England in the summer of 1606. This proposition has been noted as a possibility or a probability by several editors of the play and has been supported with increasing insistence in the modern editions of Henry Cuningham and J. Q. Adams.

Another point urged by Mr. Wilson is that lines 97 to 100 of Act IV Scene III are an after-insertion by the author of the play. They are part of the scene where Malcolm falsely charges himself with a succession of vices. The Holinshed story, here closely followed, required him to name *voluptuousness, avarice, and falsehood* as his three besetting sins. The first two having been named by Malcolm, the dramatist suddenly deserts his source, omits *falsehood,* and substitutes these strange ranting lines:

> . . . . . Nay, had I power, I should
> Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
> Uproar the universal peace, confound
> All unity on earth.

That this is an after-insertion is proved by the fact that Malcolm (in line 130) retracts the charge of false-speaking although as the text now stands he has not charged himself with this vice. Nearly all will agree with Mr. Wilson when he insists that Shakspere's rewriting of the original dialogue at this point "cannot be denied." (p. xxxi)

What Mr. Wilson has not noted is that this rewriting was the direct result of an event which occurred on July 31, 1606 during Christian's visit. Dependence of the language of the play upon this event is demonstrable (a strong word, but here proper), and from

this it follows, with only a little less certainty, that Macbeth was the play which was given by the King's Company before the two kings at Hampton Court on August 7th, 1606. The proofs of this are now to be stated:

The three abstractions attacked in Malcolm's after-inserted lines are Concord, Peace, and Unity.

As soon as King James reached England in the spring of 1603 on his way to ascend the English throne, he proclaimed Peace and Unity as his cardinal political ideals; for he wished to bring about peace with Spain and the union of his kingdoms. Consequently in the welcoming speeches with which he was greeted, the panegyrical poems, and also in his early speeches to parliament we find proclamation of the motto or slogan Peace and Unity. Anyone glancing through Vol. I of Nichols' *Progresses* of King James (1603-1606) can quickly pick these out, and will recognize that by the latter date the couplet had become a by-word throughout the kingdom.

But there were many opposers. The profiteers of the war party were bitterly opposed to peace with Spain. And the London mob foolishly feared that the Scots would invade the Southern Kingdom and exercise too much power. They therefore seized every opportunity to attack the proposed peace and the union of the kingdoms. In the year 1606 to lessen this opposition the kingly phrase was enlarged and became a triplet proclaiming Love, Peace, and Unity as the royal ideals. In the early summer of that year appeared (S. R. May 9) Anthony Nixon's little serio-comic tract entitled *The Black Year.* Here (p. D^2v) we read

> Many think well of themselves in making the Doctrine of love, peace, and unity, the occasion of strife, contention and heresie.

This accurately defines the situation as it existed when the Danish king arrived in the Thames on July 17, 1606 and was invited to make his ceremonial progress along with his brother-in-law through the City of London on July 31. For this occasion the dramatist John Marston was commissioned to write the Latin speech (for King Christian understood little English) to be spoken to the two kings as they beheld the pageant of the day erected in Cheapside. This address was designed to glorify Love, Peace, and Unity. The original holograph MS of the address signed by John Marston is preserved in

the British Museum. It has been printed in Bullen's edition of Marston's *Works* (III, 407). But the Latin tongue possessed no word accurately denoting Love as a political virtue, and consequently Marston chose *Concordia* as the best Latin substitute for Love. Thus it came about that for this single occasion the triplet became Concord, Peace, and Unity. The address as the reader will find contains a glorification by Concordia of Heavenly Peace and Britons' Unity.

There are several accounts of the events of this day reprinted by Nichols in his *Progresses;* but the most full picture of what went on is to be found in an anonymous contemporary pamphlet entitled *The King of Denmark's Welcome.* (Ln. Edward Allde, 1606.) Unfortunately this rare but most important tract has never been reprinted, except for certain extracts relegated by Nichols to his Appendix, and these extracts do not include that part of the tract which is of most interest to the Shaksperian reader. This is a lengthy description of the composition of the royal procession as it passed from the Tower to Whitehall. Here it is recorded that near the front of the procession, following the King of Denmark's Trumpeters, "roade all our Kinges Groomes and Messengers of the Chamber" (p. 18). William Shakspere was a "Groom of the Chamber," and we may therefore assume that he rode in person in his king's procession, and saw the unfortunate disturbance which occurred when they reached the pageant in Cheapside which is now to be described.

This so-called "pegme" was an enormous wooden structure, some fifty feet in height abounding with allegorical and mythological figures. Near the top was a compartment carrying the hatchment of Great Britain within which "sate enthroned the genius of Concorde," who at the proper moment was let down as the *deus ex machina* to deliver her address to the kings in praise of Peace and Unity.

The accounts published during the days of Christian's visit tactfully omit reference to the disgraceful tumult of the mob which accompanied this pageant. To learn the truth about it the account of the annalist Howes in his continuation of Stow's *Chronicle* (ed. of 1615 pp. 885-6) must be read:

> Then the pageant after it had ceased her melodious harmony, began to expresse the purpose thereof, viz Divine *Concord* as sent from Heaven, descended in a cloud from the top unto the middle of the

> stage, and with a loud voice spake an excellent speech in Latin purporting their heartie welcome, with the heavenly happiness of *peace* and *unitie* amongst Christian Princes, &c but through the distemperature of the unrulie multitude, the Kings could not well hear it, although they inclined their ears very seriously thereunto. [The noteworthy words are here italicized.]

John Davies of Hereford was so sensitive to this insult to his King that when he wrote a poem of Welcome to the Danes called *Bien Venu* (reprinted in Grosart's ed. of Davies) he inserted an apology for what had happened. One stanza of this is here quoted:

> And let thy Muses so in Pageants speake
> That they may make the Clamorous Crowde attend!
> Although their voice, through wants, become so weake
> That they may seeme to speak to little end
> Sith the rude Multitude will silence breake,
> Though speake there may an Angell or a fiend.
> Yet what they speake, in Print, in Print may be
> Convai'd aloft, down to Posteritie.

Thus we learn that the "clamorous crowd" created an uproar which spoiled the pageant and prevented the Kings from hearing the words addressed to them. John Davies could only express the hope that people, though they could not hear the words of Concord, would yet read what she had said as soon as it appeared in print. But this was not soon; for Bullen's edition of Marston was not published until 1887. There one may now read what Concord said in praise of Peace and Unity in forty-three lines of Latin iambics.

All that the kings and their retinues could do as the crowd drowned the voice of Concord was to pass quietly on their way, thinking their own thoughts. And William Shakespeare personally witnessed this.

Now we are in a position to understand why he changed Malcolm's speech so as to excise lines already written which treated lying or deceitfulness as the most offensive vice and substituted this insulting treatment of Concord, Peace, and Unity as a still greater vice, so as to make clear to the kings just what the King's Company thought of the conduct of this mob. The lines now seem mere rant but Shakespeare wrote them glowing with indignation at what he had witnessed.

There was no such verb as "uproar." He coined it as the only word fitting such a scene.

As already stated the Pageant occurred on July 31, 1606. Christian's visit extended from July 18 to Aug. 10. During this visit the King's Company performed three times before the two kings, as we learn from an entry in the Accounts of the Revels at Court which reads:

> "To John Hemynges one of his Mts. players upon Warrant dated October 18, 1606 for three plays before his Matie and the King of Denmarke, twoe of them at Grenewich and one at Hampton Court." XXX[11] (Ln. Shakespeare Soc. 1842 Int. p. XXXVIII)

The accounts of Christian's entertainment that have survived make it easy to trace the whereabouts of the kings from day to day. They were at Greenwich on the evenings of July 18-23, 28-30, Aug. 2-5, and 8, (but it is stated that they rested this last evening), and at Hampton Court on the evening of Aug. 7.

We can hardly allow less than a week to give time for the writing and insertion of these lines, their tryout in rehearsal and their approval by the Master of the Revels. It therefore follows that Aug. 7 at Hampton Court is almost certainly the date of the first performance of Macbeth.

In addition to the English sources of information about this royal visit there is preserved at the Royal Library at Copenhagen a diary of a Danish nobleman who accompanied King Christian during this trip. He gives a little (too little) information about what happened but he does tell of the installation of King Christian at Windsor as a Knight of the Garter on the afternoon of August 7 and explains that the kings immediately returned to Hampton Court where they spent the night and that "after supper a play was performed." This is enough to enable the enthusiastic Shakspearian to picture in his mind the first performance of Macbeth in the great hall of Hampton Court as it was fitted up on the evening of August 7th with a stage at one end and two royal chairs in which the two kings sat immediately in front of the stage with accommodation for the English, Scottish, and Danish courtiers on either side. Still keeping this picture in mind he may watch the face of the Scottish king as he sees his royal ancestors descended in line from Banquo personated

one after the other by actors of the King's Company and slowly passing over the stage as the procession of the kings. He may hear Macbeth enviously say "some I see that two-fold balls and treble scepters carry." And he may also hear Malcolm, another of James' ancestors, describe as the most outrageous possible vice the effort of some to pour the sweet milk of Concord into Hell.

Strange words these: In the mouth of Malcolm they were mere rant, extravagant and insincere. As written by William Shakespeare, glorious rant expressing his just indignation. As heard by King James a soothing salve to his wounded pride. During a long period of years since then the words have seemed empty and without significance. But it now comes about that the words regain meaning in the play, and what is more startling they now describe with terrible distinctness a stark reality with which we are faced which causes them to give forth a most sinister ring. Truly Shakespeare was not of an age but for all time.

SHAKSPERE, THE MONTAIGNE OF ENGLAND

By Robert M. Smith

PROFESSOR George Coffin Taylor's new book, entitled *Essays of Shakespeare*,* will come as a familiar surprise to our group—*familiar,* because we have read these sententious lines before, *surprise* because we have never read them clustered together, after the fashion of a Bacon essay, around their central ideas, and revealing Shakspere in a new light as philosopher, thinker, and sage, and showing what purports to be his opinions on Truth, Time, Love, Lust, Sleep, Philosophy, Adversity, Death, etc.

If by *philosopher* we mean dialectician or one who constructs an elaborate metaphysical system like Hegel's, the term is misapplied to Shakspere; if we use it in Wordsworth and Coleridge's sense—of one who has thought deeply on life—then Professor Taylor's essays reveal how great a philosopher, or better, a sage Shakspere is.

The ready objections to Professor Taylor's scheme of printing together Shakspere's blank verse lines in prose essay form are two:

(1) Some readers may be irritated by such a juxtaposition of scattered verse passages and feel that the poetic values are destroyed. Pure aesthetes who object to the romantic fusion, or confusion, of the arts, will agree with Coleridge as against Wordsworth that there is a decided difference between prose and poetry, that the language and mode of prose and poetry are not identical. Sensitive readers with this belief might as well object to the prose of Poe, the blank verse rhythms of the death of Little Nell, or the less bathetic organ passages of DeQuincey such as his paraphrase of Raleigh, "O! just, subtle and mighty opium!" or of *Levana, Our Lady of Sorrows.* If prose-poems are "pestilential heresies," then Professor Taylor's effort is not for such critics.

(2) The second objection is the inference that scattered lines on the same subject wrenched from the plays out of their dramatic context do not and cannot express Shakspere's considered philosophy of life, or even his own opinions on such matters as life, death, and eternity. These sententious passages are dramatic merely; they were

*George Coffin Taylor, *Essays of Shakespeare, An Arrangement* (Putnam's; New York, 1947), v-xv; 1-144, $2.50.

so conceived and executed; they express only what the persons in the play appropriately think and convey at a given moment. For example, Frank Harris easily showed how Shakspere must have been an incorrigible lecher, whose soul was consumed by the corrosive ulcer of sensuality, by gathering together from the sonnets and plays references to sexual passion and weaving them into a fantastic fable about Shakspere and the Dark Lady, Mary Fitton. A slight difficulty lies in the fact that contemporary portraits of Mary Fitton show her as a Renaissance blonde of blue eyes and golden hair—the type gentlemen preferred in those days—except, of course, that Shakspere with a sonnet in defense of the Dark Lady inevitably revealed that he in taste was no gentleman, even though he afterward became one by purchase price. Similarly Legouis[1] engaged to prove to the British Academy that Shakspere was a drunkard; and all members of what Professor William Tenney Brewster, in his admirable article on "The Search for Shakspere's Personality,"[2] calls the "high significance" school of interpretation, still believing that Shakspere wore his heart upon his sleeve and exhibited to the world this bleeding pageant, can by these methods make the poet anything they please from a high class Brahmin to the son of a butcher, of whom all we know certainly is that he was an ignorant lout who was "born, lived, drank, and died." Those, however, who belong to Professor Brewster's "small significance" school contend with Browning that Shakspere was a dramatist, that if he were revealing himself in sonnet and play then "the less Shakspere he." We cannot certainly know what Shakspere thought on any subject. As Sidney Lee insisted, Shakspere's thought and art are imitative and impersonal.[3]

At this point we arrive at the crux presented by Professor Taylor's excellent book when he asks in his *Preface* whether anyone can object to rearranging Shakspere's philosophic passages so that we may estimate his value as a thinker better than when we find his golden opinions "cut into a thousand bits and scattered to the four winds." Professor Taylor is well aware of the objections and has anticipated and answered them in his *Preface*. We may venture the suggestion that possibly the truth lies in a middle course between the extremes of the "high" and the "small" significance schools. It is hard to believe, in spite of Sidney Lee, that there is not genuine autobiographical feeling in some of the sonnets and passages in the plays. Why should Hamlet deliver his prose eloquence on the whole duty of an actor in a play already replete, unless Shakspere wished to relieve his

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

personal irritations of long standing as a dramatic manager, and visit his scorn on clowns who *ad lib,* and barnstormers, like Edward Alleyn, who "o'er do Termagant" and "tear a passion to tatters"? Why does he give to little men in a play speeches on life and death far beyond what they could have conceived or uttered?—for example, as has been recently contended in the *Bulletin,* to Claudio in his observations on death, or to the unreflecting Hotspur:

> But thought's the slave of life, and life time's fool; And time, that takes survey of all the world, Must have a stop.

This is a passage Professor Taylor might well have included in the essay on *Time* or on *Mutability;* for Hotspur is the last man in Shakspere's world who would or could have talked this way. We miss, too, under *Of Ingratitude,* the passage from "Blow, blow thou winter wind":

> Thou art not so unkind as man's ingratitude; thy tooth is not so keen, because thou art not seen although thy breath be rude.

or again under *On Injustice in Society,* Hamlet's list of the ills that flesh is heir to (III, i, 69-74). Neither these passages nor Hamlet's reflections on the death of greatness in Alexander and imperial Caesar, are merely dramatic; nor Rosalind and Celia's argument on Fortune and Nature. Here surely is Shakspere thinking and turning over in his mind and adding his commentary to the commonplaces of Euphuistic debate.

Therefore, we may conclude that Professor Taylor has done us a service by showing how much more readable and moving are these passages of wisdom in essay form than Bacon's; how if they do not match exactly Bacon's shrewd and calculating observations, they cover a wider range of human thought and feeling; for they do not merely reason, they move. Who was ever *moved* by a Bacon essay? *Shakespeare's Essays,* as put together by Professor Taylor, are "literature of power." We find ourselves in the presence of a mind so luminous and comprehensive in its range that *we* are moved to ex-

claim what we never quite realized before: "Shakspere was, indeed, the Montaigne of England!"

Furthermore, if these are not Shakspere's thoughts, whose are they? No one can deny that they all passed through his mind and emerged "in form and moving how express and admirable." Even though Shakspere might not have arranged these reflections in Professor Taylor's order, who can doubt that they exhibit an imaginative power never equalled by any other human being and cast a shade over the sagacious Bacon. They reveal a wisdom so acute, so wide, and so deep that they are matched in kind only by Shakspere's great French contemporary, Montaigne.

And here we come back to Professor Taylor's special field, the influence of Montaigne on Shakspere. How many of these thoughts are Montaigne's? Professor Taylor has shown us how soaked in Montaigne Shakspere's mind was from the time of *Hamlet* (if not earlier) to that of *The Tempest*—especially in *Hamlet;* and Henderson, perhaps less convincingly, in *King Lear.*[4] How many of them, on the contrary, are merely current coin of the moral commonplace books, as Alice Harmon has contended?[5] Here again we need a middle ground; certainly many of these ideas are the current coin of the Renaissance, that inextricable and inconsistent mixture of medieval and modern thinking. As has been frequently observed the Renaissance was more inconsistent than it had any right to be. No one will deny, however, that in the passage of these ideas through the crucible of Shakspere's imagination they issued a refined gold, never discovered before or since. Indubitably, on the other hand, many of these reflections are his own.

But what of the value of these meditations? That gracious and learned scholar, Professor Osgood, finds in them no "means of grace."[6] In contrast to Dante, Spenser, Milton, and Johnson, Shakspere was not by conviction so grounded in the Christian faith that he can fortify today the soul in a harassed world of atom bombs. There is here no ringing challenge of militant faith such as Milton and his associates manifest in Professor Osgood's charming little volume. Professor Taylor, however, cites Emerson's opinion that Shakspere is the greatest of all thinkers (x-xi). Emerson evidently found some "means of grace" in him:

> So far from Shakspere's being the least known, he is the one person, in all history, known to us. What point of morals, of manners, of economy, of philosophy, of religion, of taste, of the conduct of life, has he not settled? What mystery has he not signified his knowledge of, what office or function, or district of man's work, has he not remembered?

and Coleridge:

> In all points from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakspere is commensurate with his genius––nay,. . .his genius reveals itself in his judgment, as in its most exalted form . . . Does God choose idiots by whom to convey the divine truths to man?

The hard-headed critics of our time may counter that these are but the ravings of romantic visionaries, not the judgment of sober and substantial scholars. "Shakspere," says Draper, whom Professor Taylor justly calls "the most industrious publisher of Shakspere articles in America"—articles, I may add, that penetrate the recesses of the Elizabethan mind and age, however, one may disagree with Draper's conclusion—"Shakspere regarded philosophy not only with disfavor but with derision and contempt" (Taylor, x).

Here again we are at extremes with the critics of romantic and realistic excess. What we need is to return to the texts, first to Montaigne's and now to Shakspere's *Essays,* to be amazed not at their differences so much as at their likenesses. A major difference is Montaigne's blithe and happy-go-lucky fun with himself as a representative man:

> Presumption is our natural and original disease. Man, the most calamitous and frail of all creatures, is yet the proudest of all. . . This wretched and feeble creature is actually persuaded that the admirable vault of heaven, the eternal light of the torches over his head, the fearful tides of the infinite sea, were established and continued for so many ages just for his convenience and use.

As for Shakspere,—and this, I believe, is what troubles Professor Osgood, as it did Ben Jonson viewing his fellow Shakspere from Stratford in Edwin Arlington Robinson's vignette—the poet seems to have had a profounder melancholy than Montaigne:

. . . . . he sees no gate,
Save one whereat the spent clay waits a little
Before the churchyard has it, and the worm.
'No, Ben,' he mused; 'Tis Nothing. It's all Nothing.
We come, we go; and when we're done, we're done;
Spiders and flies—we're mostly one or t'other—
We come, we go; and when we're done, we're done.'
'By God, you sing that song as if you knew it!'
Said I, by way of cheering him; 'What ails ye?'

But 'rare Ben' departs from Professor Osgood when he adds:

For granted once the old way of Apollo
Sings in a man, he may then, if he's able,
Strike unafraid whatever things he will
Upon the last and wildest of new lyres;
Nor out of his new magic, though it hymn
The shrieks of dungeoned hell, shall he create
A madness or a gloom to shut quite out
A cheering daylight, and a last great calm
Triumphant over shipwreck and all storms.[7]

—an indication that the poetic imagination is more comprehensive than the Christian faith. Three of Professor Osgood's men of high faith, Dante, Milton, and Johnson, share in arrogance and conceit some of that first of the deadly sins from which the others are derived. Perhaps, if we stressed less the first of Paul's Christian virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity and practised the last, which he thought the greatest, the other two would largely take care of themselves. What the world seems to need is less dogma and more of Chaucer's, Erasmus's, Montaigne's, Shakspere's, and Emerson's polarity of mind.

The beneficent influence of these minds spreads widely and flows deeply through the life of the modern age. "For not faith but doubt has liberated and humanized the world. The force which has blunted the sword of the crusader and thrown the rack of the inquisitor on the scrap-heap, which has dissipated the mists of superstition and broken the spell of outward hocus-pocus has been the spirit of Montaigne!"[8]

Moreover, we should never forget that, like Montaigne, Shakspere outwardly conformed to the Christian faith all his days, as Cumberland Clark reveals in his *Shakespeare and the Supernatural*.[9] Mon-

taigne, however his imagination may range, explicitly declares that he intends to die in the Catholic faith of his fathers. Similarly the skeptical Shakspere was born, as Professor Parrott reminds us, of a Catholic mother and a father who was persecuted for recusancy;[10] therefore, he was tolerant of religious differences and possibly as he saw the tearing factions of religious strife all around him, like Montaigne, he contemplated them with the feeling: "Alas for the spirit of Christian charity under the sun." He was baptized in the Anglican Church, in which, so far as we know, he was always a member of good standing, as he was regarded by his fellow citizens at his death. They would never have buried him in the chancel of the Church of the Holy Trinity if he had been considered a wild atheist and revolutionary. We have only to recall the difficulties, still unsolved, of getting Byron into Westminister Abbey. Moreover, Tucker Brooke again reminds us in his brilliant essay, "Shakspere Apart" how traditional Shakspere's mind was, and how incompletely it reflected the Renaissance.[11]

The skeptical spirit of the Renaissance, as reflected in Montaigne and Shakspere, does not preclude, however penetrating or pessimistic it may sound, faith in the higher reaches of the human spirit. Hence our readers will always be glad to have Professor Taylor's book at hand to refresh themselves with the comprehensiveness and the glories of Shakspere's mind.

Lehigh University

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[1]Emile Legouis, "The Bacchic Element in Shakspere's Plays," *British Academy Proceedings* (London, 1926), pp. 115-132.

[2]William Tenney Brewster, *Columbia University Shaksperian Studies* (New York, 1916), pp. 61-115.

[3]Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 85-115.

[4]W. B. D. Henderson, *S. A. B.*, XIV, 209-25; XV, 40-54.

[5]See Professor Taylor's analysis of seventy-five types of evidence in three of the grand divisions of Elizabethan research entitled "Montaigne—Shakspere and the Deadly Parallel," *PQ.*, XXII, 330-397, and his defense therein against the attack of Alice Harmon's, "How Great Was Shakspere's Debt to Montaigne?" *PMLA*, XLVII, 418 ff.

[6]C. G. Osgood, *Poetry as a Means of Grace* (Princeton, 1941), pp. 23-24.

[7]E. A. Robinson, *The Man Against the Sky* (Macmillan; New York, 1920), pp. 59-60, 65. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[8]P. Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (Holt; New York, 1930), I, 417.

[9]Cumberland Clark, *Shakspere and the Supernatural*, Part II, "Shakspere and Religion" (Williams & Norgate Ltd., London, 1931).

[10]T. M. Parrott, *William Shakspere* (Scribner's; New York, 1934), pp. 8-9.

[11]C. F. Tucker Brooke, "Shakspere Apart," *Yale Review*, New Series, II (1921-22), 102-116.

ROMEO AND JULIET: A REINTERPRETATION

By H. Edward Cain

I

A GREAT many critics of *Romeo and Juliet,* in particular the more recent commentators, have insisted upon the view that this play is a tragedy of fate and that the beautiful lovers of Verona are overwhelmed entirely by tragic forces moving outside of and about them. "To seek the cause of their 'piteous overthrow' in some inherent guilt or tragic flaw, infilial disobedience or sensuality or rashness, is entirely mistaken."[1] They themselves are without blemish or blame. The tragic ἁμαρτία of Aristotle's *Poetics* is absent, and for this reason *Romeo and Juliet* is given a place apart. It is essentially different, we are told, from the Great Tragedies.

For instance, in such a standard and recent work as Allardyce Nicoll's *British Drama* we read:

> This tragedy [*Romeo and Juliet*] is obviously a young man's effort and shows the fullness of Renaissance thought and passion. In spite of its lyricism it is of the earth. There is no spiritual message here, no mental struggles, no wearied emotion that almost reaches the levels of mysticism as in *Macbeth* and in *Hamlet.* The love of Romeo and Juliet is an earthly passion, and the whole colour of the play is rich with those dazzling hues which we associate with fifteenth-century Italy. These features separate *Romeo* markedly from the later tragedies . . . The tragedy of Romeo and Juliet might, after all, have been a comedy. Mercutio did not need to die; little lies between the two lovers and a happy existence. There is nothing wrong in their actions; there is nothing wrong in their grasping at this youthful passion. They are merely star-crossed; fate and even chance thwart their best considered plans . . . This form of tragedy of fate is the typical type [*sic*] of Greek drama; but there are aeons between the spirit of *Oedipus* and the spirit of *Romeo.* The Greek tragedy owed its greatness partly to the awful religious conceptions of the time, to the idea of some power or powers governing human lives and human actions, partly to the fusion of mortal error, the ἁμαρτία of Aristotle, with this fatal power. With Shakespeare fate as such is simply not conceived; we do not rise from a reading of *Romeo and Juliet* with the feeling that some tremendous power stands over our petty lives; we rise with the feeling that some blind chance has obstructed wildly the deeds of these two lovers. There is not the profound

> majesty of Greek drama leading to emotions that are full of terror and sublimity; there are only the petty movements of a conscienceless power that leaves us rebellious and dissatisfied.[2]

Whatever the true philosophical inwardness of these somewhat confusing statements about fate and chance, it is nonetheless clear that Nicoll regards the tragedy as one which is brought about entirely by forces outside of the hero. This is typical of a large segment of contemporary criticism. The assertion that there are no mental struggles; the implied allegation that its characters are less noble and less universal than the characters of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* and, contrariwise, are on the level of domestic tragedy; its contention that the tragedy is essentially different from and therefore to be separated from Shakespeare's great tragedies; the belief that mortal error, the ἁμαρτία of Aristotle, is absent—all are characteristic of this approach to the play.

Similar opinions are at hand in great numbers. Professor Parrott's recent college text of Shakspere[3] holds that "it is, in essence, a tragedy of fate." Although Parrott is actually following a tradition of long standing which has persisted until now, as we shall see, he speaks of the "accepted critical creed" that in Shakespearean tragedy the protagonist is responsible for his own fall, but proclaims his willingness to accept the risk of seeming to be heretical because he holds that Romeo is blameless. Here, he says, is "no picture of lives ruined by a tragic fault, rather of characters exalted by ennobling passion." In this category belongs also Chambers,[4] who tells us that Romeo and Juliet "are raised into the highest heaven, merely that an envious fate may pluck them down again. Love is a mighty power, but destiny is mightier still, and cruel. And the conflict of these titanic forces, crushing the young lives between them, is the issue of the tragedy." And so one might pile instance upon instance to indicate that a good many modern students of the play are at one in the belief that "it is the idlest of critical follies to look for a tragic flaw in Romeo or Juliet."[5]

Although it appears that such a view of *Romeo and Juliet* is very old, it is probably to the influence of Professor Boas that its early prominence in English criticism is to be ascribed, for during the last decade of the ninteenth century[6] he set the play down as a tragedy "of destiny," and added:

> No *a priori* ideas that Shakspere is pre-eminently the poet of free will as opposed to necessity should prevent us recognizing that in *Romeo and Juliet,* following the steps of Brooke, and treating a characteristically mediaeval theme, he has given to Fate a prominence unique in his writings. The lovers have been 'star-crossed,' and in their 'misadventured, piteous overthrows' they merit neither blame nor praise.[7]

That such an idea of tragedy as these critics have perceived in the structure of *Romeo and Juliet* was current in the English Renaissance, and that it stood along side of and was often fused with the Christian tendency "to see the spectacle of human calamity as a result of wrong doing,"[8] can hardly be debated, but it is the purpose of the present paper to underscore the view that *in Shakespearean tragedy the Christian view of life is preferred.*[9] Indeed, this is explicitly the view of Bradley, who is, of course, the most widely reputed proponent of the position which this paper espouses:

> In the circumstances where we see the hero placed, his tragic trait, which is also his greatness, is fatal to him. To meet these circumstances something is required which a smaller man might have given, but which the hero cannot give. He errs, by action or omission; and his error, joining with other causes, brings on him ruin. This is always so with Shakespeare. As we have seen, the idea of the tragic hero as a being destroyed simply and solely by external forces is quite alien to him; and not less so is the idea of the hero as contributing to his destruction only by acts in which we see no flaw. But the fatal imperfection or error, which is never absent, is of different kinds and degrees. At one extreme stands the excess and precipitancy of Romeo, which scarcely, if at all, diminishes our regard for him; at the other the murderous ambition of Richard III.[10]

The tragedy presents, therefore, in Bradley's view, not only an external, but also an internal conflict, although the internal conflict is little emphasized.

> The truth is, that the type of tragedy in which the hero opposes to a hostile force an undivided soul, is not the Shakespearean type. The souls of those who contend with the hero may be thus undivided; they generally are; but, as a rule, the hero, though he pursues his fated way, is, at least at some point in the action, and sometimes at many, torn by an inward struggle; and it is frequently at such points that Shakespeare shows his most extraordinary power. If further we compare the earlier tragedies with the later, we find that it is in the latter,

> the maturest works, that this inward struggle is most emphasized. In the last of them, *Coriolanus,* its interest completely eclipses toward the close of the play that of the outward conflict. *Romeo and Juliet, Richard III., Richard II.,* where the hero contends with an outward force, but comparatively little with himself, are all early plays.[11]

And so, however obscured by the outward conflict, the internal conflict is nevertheless present in *Romeo and Juliet.* In this view I concur and in what follows I shall attempt to support its validity.

II

As far as I am aware, no attempt has been made to study *Romeo and Juliet* against its background of sixteenth century moral philosophy. Miss Campbell in her well-known work on Shakespeare's treatment of the passions has made detailed studies of *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear,* and *Macbeth,* but not of *Romeo and Juliet.*[12] The chief purpose of this paper is to adduce evidence to support an interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* as a study of the passion of anger. Miss Campbell, who deals very thoroughly with this passion in her study of *King Lear,* has naturally emphasized those aspects of the ethical literature which lend substance to her treatment of wrath in old age. It will be necessary for the purpose of the present study, therefore, which treats with special emphasis those aspects of the passion which appear in youth, to supplement extensively the materials which Miss Campbell has presented from the corpus of English Renaissance philosophical writings and to interpret anew much of the evidence.

In order to avoid any ambiguities in the use of terms, it will be well to point out in the beginning that the term *anger* was synonymous with *wrath* and *ire,* the terms found especially in medieval writers, and with *choler,* a term used often in the Renaissance. Miss Campbell limits her list of synonyms to these four, but as will be clear from later considerations of this matter, she might have added to her list such terms as *impatience* and especially *rage* and *fury,* since these latter are among the ones which sixteenth century writers use and which Shakespeare employs in *Romeo and Juliet.*[13] Since patience was the virtue through which man restrained anger, it is logical that in its negative form it should be synonymous with that passion.[14]

We shall therefore begin our considerations of the philosophical literature with this virtue of patience in mind, for one of the capital

aspects of the passion of anger is, frequently, the refusal of its victim to accept, like Job, whatever heaven bestows:

> And here shall I note you two kind of folke that are in tribulacion and heauines. One sorte that will seeke for no coumforte, another sorte that will. And yet of those that will not, are there also two sortes. For first one sorte there are, that are so drowned in sorowe, that they falle into a carelesse deadelye dulnesse, regarding nothing, thinking almost of nothing, no more then if they laye in a letarge, with whiche it may so falle, that witte and remembrance wil weare awaye, and falle euen fayre from them. And this comfortles kind of heauinesse in tribulacion, is the highest kind of the deadly sinne of slouth. Another sorte are there, that will seeke for no coumforte, nor yet none receiue, but are in their tribulacion (be it losse or sickenes) so testie, so fumythe, and so farre oute of all pacience, that it booteth no man to speake to them, and these are in a maner with impacience, as furious as though they wer in halfe a frenesye, and may with a custome of such fashioned behaueour, falle in therto full and whole. And this kynd of heauinesse in tribulacyon, is euen a mischieuous hygh braunche of the mortale sinne of yre.[15]

From this point More moves on to a consideration of the kinds and causes of human suffering and to an instruction of how the Christian man is to accept the tribulations which are sent by Divine Providence:

> Euery tribulacion that we fal in, cometh either by our own knownen deseruying dede, bringing vs therunto, as the sykenes that foloweth our intemperate surfayt, or the prisonment or other punishment put vpun a man for hys heynous crime, or els is it sente vs by God wythout any certayne deseruyng cause open and knowen vnto our selfe, eyther for punyshment of some sinnes passed. Certaynlye we knowe not for whiche, or for preseruyinge vs from synne in whych we were els lyke to fal, or fynally for no respect of the mans synne at all, but for the proofs of his pacience and encrease of hys merite.[16]

Consequently, whether Romeo felt that the loss of Juliet which ensued as a punishment upon his killing of Tybalt was a sorrow due to sin, or whether he was convinced, as Arthur Brooke has it,[17] that in the circumstances in which he slew Tybalt he committed no sin, he was still compelled as a Christian to bow to the will of heaven and to practice the virtue of patience. A passage from La Primaudaye which discusses the character of the angry man, seems to confirm the views of More:

> . . . after that anger hath once got the bridle at will, the whole mind and judgement is so blinded and caried headlong, that an angry man thinks of nothing but of revenge, insomuch that he forgetteth himselfe, and careth not what he doeth, or what harme wil light upon himselfe in so doing, so that he may be avenged. And many times hee will murmure against heaven and earth, and against all the creatures, because they are not mooved to revenge his quarell: yea, which is worse, he despiteth God himselfe and waxeth wroth against him, blaspheming him, because he taketh not pleasure in serving his revenging minde. Which is as much as if he should spette against heaven: and therefore it is very necessarie, that his spettle, proceeding from a such a stinking mouth, shoulde returne and fall backe upon his own face. And when this passion of anger is verie vehement, it leadeth a man even to furie and rage, and procureth unto him not only manie diseases, but oftentimes death itselfe.[18]

Elsewhere La Primaudaye underscores heavily the point that true patience means the acceptance of the Divine Will and that *impatience* is another name for *contumacie:*

> Therefore, true patience which we ought to imbrace in all things, not as compelled and of necessitie, but cheerefully and as resting in our welfare, is a moderation and tolerance of our evils, which, albeit we sigh under the heavie burthen of them, cloth us in the meane while with a spirituall joy, that striveth so wel and mastreth in such sort the sense of nature which shunneth griefe, that in the end it worketh in us an affection of pietie and godlines, joined with a free and cheerfull minde, under the yoke and obedience of the just and rightfull will of God, through a certaine expectation of things promised, and causeth us to judge impatiencie to be contumacie and rebellion to the divine will, and sufficient of it selfe to make a man to be called wretched.[19]

Having considered these sixteenth century ethical views of the passion of anger and the virtue of patience with reference to the problem of human suffering, we may pass on to what may be considered simply general ethical discussions of the passion of anger. One of the most interesting of these elaborations on the passion is to be found in the work of a sixteenth century physician:

> But anger or perturbation is mooued of naturall heate, it needeth no meane to helpe it: as wee feele by ourselues in colde weather, let our Enemy sodaynely appeare before us, or if we heare our selues

> shamefully rebuked, we neede no fyre to kindle the flame of our choler, forthwyth we are in the house top, the holiest of us all. For heate aboue nature, wyll quickly inclose the heart and with swiftnes go further seeking vengeaunce. Unto thys euil be Cholerik men most bent, which must use often to correct Choler: or els to obserue an order whych a worthy Philosopher taught a hasty Prynce, y hee should before he did anything, mooued by quicke and sodayne affection, fyrst, saye ouer the Alphabet, or the number of letters: thys Heathen rule agaynst anger or rashenes, wyll not hurt the Chrystians. It declareth great pride and anger, to be sodaynely mooued. As example. At euery light wynde, weake trees will mooue, and tremble with theyr braunches, from ground to the top of the same: whych wyth great storme and wyndes will skant mooue the great strong tree. Prouidence and patience, make men strong, and cause them to get the victory of themselues: and to bee able to wythstand anger, whych is a common passion of cruell Beastes, Tyrauntes, & Fooles. It should seeme by *Domitius Nero,* that he was an angry wretch to murder hys Mother, to poyson his Scholemayster, and finally to sticke himselfe . . . When *Ecelinus* the Tyrant in battaile had receiued a woud forthwyth he cast his weapon away, and roared like a mad beast, and in his cruel anger, rent his skin from his owne flesh, which, when his enemies espyed, they so laughed that in a great rage and anger, he slue himselfe . . . *Bubulam* an Excellent Paynter, did so liuely set forth the monstrous Image of a deformed Poet called Hypponax, that the beholders had greate pastime, and laughted therat. But in the meane tyme, the Poet wrote such nipping, sharpe, taunting verses, agaynst this paynter: that in a sodayne rage he ran in to his house and hanged himselfe.[20]

This analysis of the passion emphasizes the universality of anger; underscores its physiological aspects, and thus stresses the effects of warm and cold weather upon those who are beset by anger; cautions men against being "sodaynely mooued"; ascribes the passion to a weakness in nature; stresses the need of patience even in the strong man if he is to overcome anger; points out that anger is common to beasts (note that Ecelinus the Tyrant in his anger roared like a beast); and, by examples, warns that those who fall victims to it, like Nero, move from one crime to another and, at length, fall to suicide.

La Primaudays seems to occupy much the same general position but because he approaches the question solely as an ethical writer, he tends to vary the emphasis given by Bullein:

> . . . Impatience is a weakenes and imbecilitie of a base, vile, and contemptible nature, wherein choler, and in the end wrath, are easilie engendred, which are two verie pernitious passions in the soule, and differ nothing from furie (as the elder Cato saide) but onelie in this, that they continue a lesser time, and this a longer. This is that which Possidonius teacheth us, saying: that Anger is nothing else but a short furie. *Aristides* called it the inflammation of blood, and an alteration of the hart . . . But besides the saiengs of all these Sages, experience sufficiently sheweth us, that Choler and Anger are enemies to all reason: and (as Plutarke saith) are no lesse proude, presumptuous, and uneasie to be guided by another, than a great & mightie tyrannie: Insomuch that a ship given over to the mercie of the winds and stormes, would sooner of it selfe receive a Pilot from without, than a man caried headlong with wrath and choler, would yeeld to the reason and admonition of another. For an angry man (like to those that burn themselves within their owne houses) filleth his soule in such sort with trouble, chafing, and noyse, that he neither seeth nor heareth any thing that would profit him, unlesse he made provision long time before to succour himselfe with reason through the studie of wisdome, whereby he may be able to overthrow his impaciencie and choler, which argue and accompany for the most part a weak and effeminate hart. And that this is true, we see that women are sooner driven into choler than men . . . [21]

Here choler and wrath, both of which spring from impatience, which is a weakness in human nature, are identified with fury; further, those thus afflicted are not likely to be guided by the "admonition of another," for, they are blind and deaf to what is good for them unless they have prepared themselves beforehand for the assaults of anger by studying "wisdome," i.e., philosophy; that is to say, anger is the enemy of reason; and therfore those most likely to fall victim to anger are persons, for the most part, of "a weak and effeminate hart," as we see in the fact that "women are sooner driven into choler than men."

Although it may be argued that La Primaudaye in this case uses the word "furie" to mean a kind of madness, as he does elsewhere,[22] nevertheless it becomes clear when we examine the following from Elyot that by 1531 "furie" had already been identified with "ire" and "wrath" and explicitly called a "passion":

> . . . as Tulli saithe . . . no thinge . . . more becometh a man noble and honorable, than mercy and placabilitie. The value therof is beste knowen by the contrarye, whiche is ire, called vulgarely wrathe, a vice moste ugly and ferrest from humanitie. For who, beholdynge a

> man in estimation of nobilitie and wisedome by furie chaunged in to an horrible figure, his face infarced with rancour, his mouthe foule and imbosed, his eien wyde starynge and sparklynge like fire, nat speakyng, but as a wylde bulle, rorying and brayienge out wordes despitefull and venemaus; forgetynge his astate or condition, forgetting lernyng, ye forgetynge all reason, wyll nat haue such a passion in extreme detestation? Shall he nat wisshe to be in suche a man placabilitie? Wherby only he shulde be eftsones restored to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wrathe despoyled . . . [23]

This passage, however, is also interesting because it points up sharply one of the most constant elements in Renaissance views of anger, that because of its great violence, it turns men to beasts, and is indeed a kind of madness because it deprives man of reason.

Before turning from the philosophers we may consider one other passage:

> Choler is a foolish passion which putteth vs wholly out of our selues, and with seeking the meanes to withstand and beat backe the euill which it threatneth vs, or hath already procured vs, maketh the bloud to boile in our hearts, and stirreth vp furious vapors in our spirits, which blinde vs and cast vs headlong to whatsoeuer may satisfie the desire which wee haue of reuenge. It is a short fury, a way to madnesse: by the prompt and ready impetuosity and violence thereof, it carrieth and summounteth all passions . . . The causes that dispose and mooue vnto choler are first weakenesse of spirit, as wee see by experience in women, old men, infants, sicke men, who are commonly more cholericke than others . . .
>
> The signes and symptomes are very manifest, and more than of any other passion; and so strange that they alter and change the whole estate of man, they transforme and disfigure him . . . Some of them are outward, the face red and deformed, the eies fiery, the lookes furious, the eare deafe, the mouth foaming, the heart panting, the pulse beating, the veines swollen, the tongue stammering, the teeth gnashing, the voice loud and hoarse, the speech imperfect, and to be briefe, it puts the whole bodie into a fire and a feuer . . .
>
> Choler at the first blow driueth away and banisheth reason and judgement, to the end it may wholly possesse the place . . .
>
> The effects thereof are great, many times miserable and lamentable . . . It entrappeth and intangleth vs, makes vs to speake and to doe things shamefull, vncomely, vnworthy our selues . . . it carrieth vs so beyond our selues, that it makes vs to doe things scandalous, dangerous, and irreuocable, murders, poisonings, treasons . . . [24]

Here is repeated the common notion that anger makes man something else than he was, a beast, "ferrest from humanitie," altering even his outward form in such a way as to suggest the beastliness of the inward passion. Here also are other familiar ideas: it is common not only to old men but also to women and children, for anger attacks those first who are weak by nature; choler is a short fury, a degree of madness; anger deprives man of reason; and, finally, the effects of anger are miserable, causing man to do things unworthy of himself such as murders, poisonings, treasons. In general, this passage provides a useful summary of many of the Renaissance ideas about anger.

The ethical thinking of such writers as have been so far considered is elaborated and concretized in striking detail by Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene,* Book Two, Cantos iv, v, and vi, the passion is anatomized so completely that the scope of the present paper forbids a full discussion of all relevant details; but brief references to the more important ones will be attempted.

In Canto iv, Sir Guyon encounters Furor, Spenser's abstraction of the passion of anger, "a mad man, or that feigned mad to bee," (2. 4. 3) and the hag Occasion, his mother, "the root of all wrath and despight" (2. 3. 10). The Knight of Temperance contends with him and at length, counselled by the Palmer or Reason, he subdues Furor:

> With hundred yron chaines he did him bind,
> And hundred knots that did him sore constraine:
> Yet his great yron teeth he still did grind,
> And grimly gnash, threatning reuenge in vaine;
> His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
> Stared full wide, and threw forth sparkes of fire,
> And more for ranck despight, then for great paine,
> Shakt his long lockes, colourd like copper-wire,
> And bit his tawny beard to show his raging ire. (st. xv.)

In contrast to Guyon in this context Spenser places Phedon "weak wretch, of many weakest one" (st. xvii), whose jealousy is prologue to his wrath, the passion which causes his first crime, namely, the slaughter of his innocent love.

> That after soon I dearely did lament;
> For when the cause of that outrageous deede
> Demaunded, I made plaine and euident,

Her faultie Handmayd, which that bale did breede,
Confest, how Philemon her wrought to chaunge her weede.

Which when I heard, with horrible affright
And hellish fury all enragd, I sought
Vpon my selfe that vengeable despight
To punish: yet it better first I thought,
To wreake my wrath on him, that first it wrought.
To *Philemon,* false faytour *Philemon*
I cast to pay, that I so dearely bought;
Of deadly drugs I gaue him drinke anon,
And washt away his guilt with guiltie potion. (sts. xxix-xxx.)

And so he goes on from crime to crime until he is rescued by Guyon in his role of the Knight of Temperance, who thus may well have saved him from the suicide which he earlier contemplated (st. xxx, 11. 1-5).

In these two brief fables, Spenser illustrates the difference between a strong man and a weak man as each encounters the passion of anger.

This initial treatment of the passion in Furor and Phedon seems the most important for the understanding of the manifestations of the passion in the character of Romeo as we see him in Act III, scene i, where he meets the "rude assault" of anger when he is yet, like Guyon, unprepared to meet it, and later when his reason is restored by the temperate counsel of the Friar, as Phedon is rescued by Guyon. But it is particularly in his treatment of Phedon that we see the disintegrating effects of the passion as they wrought themselves in the character of Romeo.

In Spenser's further allegorization of the passion of anger in Pyrochles, particularly in Canto v, we have another aspect of the vice, the man who is temperamentally irascible, that

threw forth sparkling fire,
That seemed him to enflame on euery side, (2. 5. 2)

and who is to be related to the study of Tybalt, the choleric man, and not to Romeo.

Before undertaking to examine the Romeo and Juliet texts themselves, however, it seems important to point out in some detail that there was very probably in the Elizabethan mind a rather well established connection between the ever-increasing evils of the duello as an institution in English life[27] and the passions of wrath as the one which, more than any other, fostered its increase.

Saviolo His Practice, a book which was very widely known at the time Shakespeare wrote *Romeo and Juliet,*[28] indicates that one of the most frequent causes of frays was anger. In order to combat this evil, Saviolo counsels the exercise of wisdom and discretion:

> First therefore it is to bee vnderstood, that the wisedome and discretion of a man, is as great a vertue as his magnanimitie and courage, which are so much the greater vertues, by how much they are accompanied with wisedome: for without them a man is not to be accounted valiant, but rather furious . . . [29]

He goes on to indicate at some length that numerous quarrels that had their origin in angry moments were successfully abated by his intervention, because injuries by word which were uttered in anger were matters upon which the injured party might accept "satisfaction."

> It hath been saide before, that the foundation of satisfactions dooth consist in the truth, and to confirme the same, when a man hath against another any defect untruly, hee ought to confesse that the matter is not so as hee saide, and may alleadge in excuse of himselfe . . . that he spake it . . . in choller: . . . and if he say he spake it in choller, hee shall then say that he knoweth the truth to be other, that he is soarye for it . . . And if one man should give another the lye upon words of wrath, hee ought also to revoke it . . . and I will not omit, that seeking meanes to make quietnes in controversies, I have sometimes so handled a matter, as I have made agreement by such a way, that he which gave the lye, hath spoken with the other in this sorte: I would be glad to know of you with what minde you gave me hard words the other day, whereupon I gave you the lye, and I praye you resolve me heerin: and the other hath answered, to tell you the truth, I spake them in choller, and not upon any other occasion: and the first hath replyed, since you have spoken these words in choller, I assure you that I meant not to have given you the lye . . . but rather I acknowledge you for a man of troth . . . and the other hath answered, and I do likewise iudge you a man of honor,

beseeching you also to account me your freend. And this form of satisfaction may bee applied to a thousand cases that happen daylye.[30]

The stress thus placed upon anger as a frequent cause of combats finds a natural complement in the anti-duello literature:

> Therefore, if you love credit, keepe your valour at a stand: suffer it not to stirre, untill it sue first for leave; to the Queene of Morall vertues, Prudence: so you shall be truely master of mettle, and not, your mettle master of you, that is not to be a man, but to be a slave of manhood, haled up and downe by mettlesome passions basely. These be harsh masters, when they tyrannize over you. The greatest skil of a swordman, is not to goe, but to stay to chuse an opportunitie, to wrench it from his enemies in spite of them; else you are angry, but as the moldy worpe, which with blinde furie biteth all it meets withall: if an offence cal on you and your anger rise, bid it lie down againe, and sleepe untill you awake it.[31]

The unidentified author of the work from which this passage is quoted shows a deep concernment for the diminution of the number of sudden and ill-advised quarrels which came to take such a devastating toll of England's best manhood, and in doing so manifests a commendable spirit of tolerance toward the evil spirit of the times:

> Yet I doe not generally denounce an exile to all Duels, from al countreyes, from all occasions; sometimes they haue their lawfulnes, the unadvised are insufferable, and such I desire to suppresse: the too too much levity in falling into wrath, turneth the merit of courage into a meere shaddow, which ever followeth, but such as wander out of the light of reason, misled by strong passion: for certainly when the causes of quarrels are no bigger than little sands, they lye onely on the eye of such, as are overflowne with an Ocean of Anger.[32]

He even discourses in the vein of the philosophers quoted above in order to mitigate the evils of sudden anger:

> Discreet *Antenodorus* taught *Augustus Caesar,* that if in anger he were to act any thing, hee should first, for his prologue recite an Alphabet, and stay so much time before he did begin the Tragedie. If you be so furious, as that your blinde weapon must needs bee doing something; yet let a little time first passe, for Reason to rise and peepe in upon you . . . [33]

If we turn now from the technical and controversial literature on the duel to an English legal document of considerable importance, King James' famous *Edict* of 1613, we find the same concern about anger as the enemy to reason and peace:

> Woe be to that kingdome, wherin priuate persons, vnstayed by youth, vntaught by negligence, vnweighed by libertie, may carue out of their owne proportions according to the rage of humorous affections that dazle them.[34]

James here makes particular mention of youth among the most noteworthy offenders, and he stresses throughout the need to substitute "the law of Nature among men that are indued with reason" for weapons of anger!

> Whereas Iustice looking rather to the first ground in her establishment of Lawes, that are truely said, *Suum cuique tribuere,* then to the passions of wrath, which are tyed to no dimension, hath taken a more safe and easie course, by debating and deciding iniuries.[35]

He severely condemns those who would make themselves the

> Iudges absolute: and in a sort submit the reall grounds of Morall understanding, to the suddaine flashes of their own furie.[36]

Nearly a half century after the composition of *Romeo and Juliet* the London stage still identified the passion of anger with the formalism and terminology of the Italianate duellist. Here Choler, personating one of the four humors, describes himself:

> My name is Choler. I was begot by Fire on Nature's cook-maid, in the time of a festival. I was dry-nurs'd by a lean butterwife, and bred up in Mar's fencing-school; where I learn'd a mystery that consists in lying, distance and direction; pace, space and place; time, motion and action; progression, reversion and transversion; blows, thrusts, falses, doubles, slips and wards; closings, gripes and wrestlings! fights guardant, open, variable and close. Then have we our stoccata's, imbrocata's, mandrita's, puinta's, and puinta's reversa's; our stramison's, passata's, carricada's, amazza's and incartata's.[37]

He seems to differ from Tybalt only in name.

Up to now, I have been attempting to recreate something like the climate of late sixteenth century ethical thinking about anger and endeavoring to relate that thinking to the social plague of duelling in England. The next step will consist in examining the text which, it is generally agreed, is Shakespeare's main source for the play. But as prelude to that undertaking I think it important to underscore what I think is an important fact, namely, that in the source, and in the source underlying the source, namely, Bandello, there is fighting only between bands of persons as such, and not between individuals as such. In other words there is nothing in either Brooke or Bandello of the nature of a "single combat" as that term was understood in England in the 1590's. This means that all the matter about "duelling" in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* constitutes an addition to his sources. The passion which he made central to his play, however, he found, as I now wish to show, already embedded in his source.

The text of Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* abounds with explicit evidence that anger is there the central passion. The Argument[38] informs us that

> Young Romeus climbs fair Juliet's bower by night.
> Three months he doth enjoy his chief delight.
> By Tybalt's rage provoked unto ire,
> He payeth death to Tybalt for his hire. (11. 3-6.)

Beginning the tale itself, Brooke describes the state of affairs between the Capulets and the Montagues, emphasizing that the passion upon which the feud is erected is fury:

> A wonted use it is, that men of likely sort,
> (I wot not by what fury forced) envy each other's port.
> So these, whose egall state bred envy pale of hue,
> And then, of grudging envy's root, black hate and rancour grew.
> As, of a little spark, oft riseth mighty fire,
> So of a kindled spark of grudge, in flames flash out their ire:
> And then their deadly food, first hatched of trifling strife,
>
> Did bathe in blood of smarting wounds; it reavéd breath and life,
> No legend lie I tell, scarce yet their eyes be dry,
> That did behold the grisly sight, with wet and weeping eye.
> But when the prudent prince, who there the sceptre held,
> So great a new disorder in his commonweal beheld;
> By gentle mean he sought, their choler to assuage;
> And by persuasion to appease, their blameful furious rage.
> (11. 31-44.)

And thus the atmosphere in which Romeus is presented to us is charged with the passion. He is a handsome youth "upon whose tender chin, as yet, no manlike beard there grew" (1.54), who from "the chief of Verone youth . . . greatest fame did gain" (1. 56). Caught in the toils of a hopeless and unrequited love, he repines, and his pangs are detailed in the manner common to versifiers in the tradition of courtly love (11. 57-100). From this unhappy state he is rescued by the counsel of "the trustiest of his feres," one older than he (11. 101-2), who describes his condition as a "doting rage" (1. 105) which has plunged him "deep in vice," (1. 123) and he is admonished to "know and fly the error which too long thou livest in" (1. 128). Romeus accepts this counsel without protest. There follows the long account of his love affair with Juliet in which "he to the top of virtue's height did worthily aspire," (1. 546) and their subsequent marriage, until at length Brooke narrates the action underlying *Romeo and Juliet, III, i.* The words which motivate Romeus' slaying of Tybalt richly substantiate the view that Romeo likewise succumbs to anger:

> As soon as Tybalt had our Romeus espied,
> He threw a thrust at him that would have passed from side to side;
> But Romeus ever went, doubting his foes, well armed,
> So that the sword, kept out by mail, hath nothing Romeus harmed.
> 'Thou dost me wrong,' quoth he, 'for I but part the fray;
> Not dread, but other weighty cause my hasty hand doth stay.
> Thou are the chief of thine, the noblest eke thou art,
> Wherefore leave off thy malice now, and help those folk to part.
> Many are hurt, some slain, and some are like to die.'
> 'No, coward, traitor boy,' quoth he, 'straightway I mind to try,
> Whether thy sugared talk, and tongue so smoothly filed,
> Against the force of this my sword shall serve thee for a shield
> And then at Romeus' head a blow he strake so hard,
> That might have clove him to the brain but for his cunning ward.
> It was but lent to him that could repay again,
> And give him death for interest, a well forborne gain.
> Right as a forest boar, that lodgéd in the thick,
> Pinchéd with dog, or else with speary-prickéd to the quick,
> His bristles stiff upright upon his back doth set,
> And in his foamy mouth his sharp and crooked tusks doth whet;
> Or as a lion wild that rampeth in his rage,
> His whelps bereft, whose fury can no weaker beast assuage;
> Such seeméd Romeus in every other's sight,
> When he him shope, of wrong received t' avenge himself by fight.

> Even as two thunderbolts thrown down out of the sky,
> That through the air, the massy earth, and seas, have power to fly;
> So met these two, and while they change a blow or twain,
> Our Romeus thrust him through the throat, and so is Tybalt slain.
> (11. 1007-1034)

Thus Romeus, who would have persuaded Tybalt to "leave off" his "malice," at length abandons himself to the passion of a wild beast. When we pass on to the point at which Romeus, at Laurance' cell, hears the tidings of his doom, he acts the part of a wild and desperate man, striking the ground, beating his head against the walls, and begging for death, for, he protests, all that has happened has happened "without our guilt" (11. 1291-1306). He is unwilling, therefore, to accept what the powers above impose, and gives himself over to rage (1. 1314); he is deaf to advice (1. 1317), his voice is hoarse, and his tongue "falt'ring" (1. 1322); with a loud voice, he defies his stars (1. 1328), all accidents of time and place, the fatal sisters three, his nurse, his midwife, and Fortune (11, 1327-1346), i.e., he defies the established order of things, what Seneca and St. Thomas mean by Providence.

> He blamed all the world, and all he did defy,
> But Juliet for whom he lived, for whom eke would he die.
> (11. 1347-8.)

Romeus is viewing the world out of perspective, "as furious as though" he were "in halfe a frenesye." His "reason blent through passion," his judgment is impaired.

> When after raging fits appeaséd was his rage,
> And when his passions, pouréd forth, 'gan partly to assuage,
> So wisely did the friar unto his tale reply,
> That he straight caréd for his life, that erst had care to die,
> 'Art thou,' quoth he, 'a man? Thy shape saith so thou art;
> Thy crying, and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's heart.
> For manly reason is quite from off thy mind outchased,
> And in her stead affections lewd and fancies highly placed:
> So that I stood in doubt, this hour, at the least,
> If thou a man or woman wert, or else a brutish beast.
> (11. 1349-1358.)

Thus, having rebuked Romeus' raging passion by linking it to

womanish weakness and brutish unreason, the friar launches upon a long persuasive to

> Endeaver first by reason's help to master witless will (1. 1400),

and concludes by counselling Romeus to accept his present sorrow with patience and to do willingly what Providence enforces, for

> Folly it is to fear that thou canst not avoid,
> And madness to desire it much that cannot be enjoyed.
> To give to Fortune place, not aye deserveth blame,
> But skill it is, according to the times thyself to frame. (11. 1473-80.)

Once more, then, Romeus accepts the careful reasoning of a wise counsellor, and gives over his "doting rage."

> Now is affection's veil removed from his eyes,
> He seeth the path that he must walk, and reason makes him wise.
> For very shame the blood doth flash in both his cheecks,
> He thanks the father for his lore, and farther aid he seeks.
> He saith, that skill-less youth for counsel is unfit,
> And anger oft with hastiness are joined to want of wit . . .
> (11. 1487-92.)

So the want of wit is a flaw of youthfulness and explains its susceptibility to anger and "sudden haste."

From this point the tale moves on its somewhat tedious way through the parting of the lovers and Romeus' journey into exile. Juliet, like Romeus, refuses to accept her lot and threatens to destroy herself unless he will consent to take her into exile with him (11. 1603-1616). He advises her to banish from her

> mind two foes that counsel hath
> That wont to hinder sound advice, rash hastiness and wrath,
> (11. 1655-6.)

"to suffer for a while" (1. 1661) that they may at length in one way or another be reunited (11. 1662-1686). Apparently Brooke thought of the lovers as the thralls of a common passion, for once Romeus has accepted the "wisdom" of the friar, he goes at his command to Juliet "to salve her sorrow's smart," (1. 1509) and it is thus that he repeats the counsel which Laurence had tendered him.

Now Romeus makes his way safely to Mantua, but he is no sooner arrived than he falls to his old error of bewailing his misery and railing against heaven—against his stars, the fatal sisters, and Fortune. He remains inconsolable in his grief, and curses the sun and the hour when he was born. (11. 1729-1780.)

I now pass over the long bombastic accounts of Juliet's fate after Romeus' departure to come to those passages which correspond to *Romeo and Juliet,* Act V, Scenes i and iii. Here Brooke tells of the coming of Peter, Romeus' man, to Mantua with the news that he has seen Juliet placed in the tomb of the Capulets. To this he adds the subsequent events of the tale and concludes with the suicides of the lovers. But as I shall indicate later in some detail, there are significant differences between Shakespeare's Act V and those portions of Brooke's poem which underlie it. Since I believe that most of these differences can best be accounted for by the theory that Shakespeare was intent upon placing dramatic emphasis on the hero's central passion in the closing scenes of the play, I wish particularly to emphasize that in those portions of Brooke presently under discussion (11. 2526-3020) there is no reference to the passion of anger in Romeus, although Juliet, we are told, could not in her final moments assuage her sorrow or "abide her sickness' furious rage" (11. 2725-26). There is a somewhat ambiguous statement in Juliet's death speech which seems to include Romeus in the pair of lovers who were wrung by "wrath and death." (1. 2760). So Brooke concludes his tale.

Against this background of moral philosophy and of contemporary feeling as expressed in the technical literature on the duel, in the legal writings of the crown, in dramatic satire, in Spenserian allegory, and in the source which Shakespeare mainly drew upon, I shall now examine the text of *Romeo and Juliet.*

Romeo falls victim to the passion of anger, or as St. Thomas More calls it, "the mortall sinne of yre." Throughout the first part of the play, that is until approximately the middle of Act III, Scene i, he is depicted as a young man of excellent gifts, gentle (1. 4. 13), chaste (2. 6. 6-8), witty and sociable (2. 4. 70-99), one whom, by the admission of the great enemy of his house, Verona brags "to be a virtuous and well-governed youth" (1. 5. 70). If he has any fault, it is a certain one-sidedness of character, a habit of permitting himself to become completely absorbed in his passions for the other sex.

The melancholia which marks his passion for Rosaline is thus a perfect prologue to his complete surrender to his love for Juliet:

> . . . wert thou as far
> As that vast shore wash'd with the farthest sea,
> I would adventure for such merchandise. (2. 2. 82-4)

That such apparently minor weaknesses, however, as Romeo's tendencies to indulge his affections were considered dangerous moral potentialities by the Elizabethans we can judge from the Palmer's final comment on Phedon's sad tale:

> . . . Most wretched man,
> That to affections does the bridle lend;
> In their beginning they are weak and wan,
> But soon through suff'rance grow to fearefull end;
> Whiles they are weak betimes with them contend:
> For when they once to perfect strength do grow,
> Strong warres they make, and cruell battry bend
> Gainst fort of Reason, it to ouerthrow:
> Wrath, gelosie, griefe, loue this Squire haue layd thus low.
> Canto iv, st. xxxiv

One may detect hints in the structure and in the lines of that scene in which we first meet Friar Lawrence (2.3.) of minor flaws in Romeo's nature, any one of which seems capable of developing into a major defect. The manner in which the Friar is introduced suggests that we fix a careful and probing eye on Romeo. When the Friar first appears, he is on his way to gather "baleful weeds and precious-juiced flowers." Soon his reflections center upon the diversity of the things which the earth produces and upon the thought that though they differ very much among themselves in their natural qualities, they are alike in that they all have potentialities for both good and evil, depending upon how man uses them. This he illustrates by reference to the flower he holds in his hand:

> Within the infant rind of this small flower
> Poison hath residence, and medicine power;
> For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part;
> Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.
> Two such opposed kings encamp them still
> In man as well as herbs—grace and rude will;
> And where the worser is predominant,
> Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.
> (2. 3. 23-30)

The flower promotes man's well-being if he smells it, but kills him if he tastes it. Such a twofold power he finds in man—grace and rude will,—*i.e.,* the acceptance of heavenly grace or insolent and wilful disobedience of God's law, what Brooke calls "witless will," (1. 1400) which later merits man eternal death.

If it is not merely out of a wish to characterize the Friar as a philosopher at the moment he is introduced that Shakespeare places this passage at this particular point in his dramatic structure, but also out of a purpose to ask us to scrutinize the hero with this norm for the judgment of human conduct in mind, then we are justified in finding the seeds of passion in certain weaknesses of character which the scene reveals. First, in the sudden and complete transference of his affections from Rosaline to Juliet, the Friar, whether jestingly or not, detects a weakness which he believes to be womanish:

> Women may fall when there's no strength in men (1. 80)

Secondly, the friar reveals he rebuked Romeo earlier for "doting" (1. 82) on Rosaline, *i.e.,* he is possessed, as I have already suggested, of that one-sidedness which Bradley regarded as "the fundamental tragic trait" of the Shakepearean hero.[39]

Despite the fact, however, that Romeo seems somewhat inclined to indulge his affections, he is not, like Tybalt, a choleric man by nature (1. 5. 91-2) and is not prone to irascibility. There is no indication of it in the first part of the play. On the contrary he wishes to hold himself aloof from the quarrels of the two houses, deploring the blood-letting of the opening scene as one who feels "no love in this" (1. 1. 189), and offering to doff his name and be "new baptiz'd" (2. 2. 50). But the Romeo of the climax scene is no longer blameless, for he yields to the temptation of fury, the passion of the duello, and though in yielding he was but reenacting one of a "thousand cases that happen daylye," the was none the less transformed before the eyes of that audience into a beast, like Romeus,

> . . . a lion wild that rampeth in his rage,
> His whelps bereft, whose fury can no weaker beast assuage.
> (Brooke, 11. 1027-8).

Before he falls into this passion, however, Romeo resists with an almost superhuman power the temptation to do so; and in order to

underscore this fact properly it is necessary to point out, on the one hand, that Romeo, because of certain weaknesses, was peculiarly vulnerable to the assaults of wrath, and that, on the other hand, the nice complication of the dramatic situation from the viewpoint of contemporary social ethics was so compelling that no other course seemed humanly possible.

First, then, we are not altogether unprepared for his yielding, since, from the very first, Romeo is hasty and precipitate (see 2. 2. 116-20 and 2. 3. 193-4). Moreover, the whole action covered in 1. 5., when Romeo and Juliet meet for the first time, until they are wedded at the end of 2. 2. occupies little more than half a day, so that the dizzying acceleration of movement thus achieved is radiated in an impression of heady impetuosity in both Romeo and Juliet. To such a trait of violent hastiness, Shakespeare joined in Romeo a weakness of nature which sprang merely from the fact that he was extremely young, and therefore "unstayed," as King James put it; and thus he would have provided a likely subject for the anxious concerns of sixteenth century moral philosophers as he faced the temptations of anger, for he would scarcely be inclined to "say over the Alphabet" before acting ("And to't they go like lightning," 3. 1. 177), or to encounter his passion with anything which approached the philosophic deliberation of a Stoic:

> As they that expect a siege, doe gather vp their money, and prouide victuals, and prepare all things that are necessarie against the enemies comming: so against the insultings of wrath & anger the minde is to be furnished with the precepts of philosophie. *Ibidem.* [*i. e.,* Plutarch's *Moralia.*][40]

But to pass on to the matter of the dramatic situation, Act Three, Scene One presents a tense and highly pitched action which Shakespeare fits into a social structure which constitutes one of his chief additions to his sources. This social structure is a lively tissue of the influence of the Italian duello of late sixteenth century London life, and the impact of Renaissance thought about friendship upon the conventional relations between man and man, and man and woman; and one is tempted to add even a third point: the season and the atmosphere. And all of these things are Shakespeare's; they are not in Brooke.

I shall illustrate the third point first and then pass on to the other two. In creating a suitable atmosphere in which to place the tale he

took from Brooke, Shakespeare enveloped it in summertime. This was, of course, the most obvious way of giving the love story the natural warmth of setting which was required for its lanquid movement of lingering embraces and which alone could harmonize with the songs of nightingales and the heavy odors of gardens. But the atmosphere of *Romeo and Juliet* is not merely warm. It is torrid. Timing the play almost exactly at mid-July by Lady Capulet's statement that it is a fortnight and odd days until Lammastide (1. 3. 15), Shakespeare thus underscores by reference to contemporary psychology the danger of the increase of choler at this particular season:

> And this month [July] is most feruent: for in the middle of this month the sunne beginneth to be in Leone, & the Canicular daies begin. And therfore is great passing heate in that time, because of the hot signe, and also because of the most hot starre. Also y time all hot passions & euills increase . . .[41]

The dangers of that aspect of Romeo's circumstances in the crisis scene are sounded at the outset:

> *Ben.* I pray thee, good Mercutio, let's retire.
> The day is hot, the Capulets abroad
> And if we meet, we shall not scape a brawl,
> For now, these hot days, is the mad blood stirring. (3. 1. 1-4)

But as that audience was well aware and as Bullein makes clear in the passage quoted above, "let our Enemy sodaynely appeare before us," and we need no fire to kindle our choler in cold weather. But in hot weather, "heate aboue nature" quickly incloses the heart.

To return to the first point, the characters in this scene are instinct with the breath of Saviolo's fencing school and the very air charged with his punctilio. The senseless, petty occasions of quarrels are detailed and exemplified in Mercutio's encounter with Tybalt—and then comes Romeo from church, but newly wived. He meets Tybalt's insulting "villain" (1. 64) with patient forbearance and complete self-mastery (11. 65-75), but after Mercutio takes up his quarrel and is killed by Tybalt new considerations enter into his thoughts—that the high motives of friendship, which the man of the Renaissance held so dear,[42] compelled new persuasions: "my very friend, hath got this mortal hurt in my behalf." (3. 1. 115-6). This was a stronger motive, the motive of revenge for a friend, than the

motive of love for Juliet. Mark, for example, the comparative values in this passage from *The Merchant of Venice:*

> *Bass.* Antonio, I am married to a wife
> Which is as dear to me as life itself;
> But life itself, my wife, and all the world
> Are not with me esteem'd above thy life.
> I would lose all, ay, sacrifice them
> Here to this devil, to deliver you. (4. 1. 282-287).

Joined with the desire which at first compelled him to maintain his "reputation" and with a certain feeling of shame because his great love has made him seem, in this "man's world," an effeminate creature, it is enough to persuade him to abandon his patience recklessly and to submit himself to passion at that moment which may properly be regarded as the crisis of the drama:

> Away to heaven respective lenity,
> And fire-ey'd fury be my conduct now. (11. 128-9)

And so with deliberate intent he casts reason aside and, as passion rules, kills Tybalt. A passage from King James highlights the moment vividly:

> It lies not in the wit or prouidence of any mortall man, beforehand assure himselfe of such a perfect patience, as may prepare the mind to meditate vpon the best meanes of release from eternall death, while his enemy is in his eye, the woundes bleed freshly, shame blinds the judgement, choller preuails against aduice, and the voice of nature her selfe is more apt to call for reuenge, then to teach humilitie.[43]

Romeo yielded, therefore, to a passion alien to his nature upon the sudden assault of the most trying circumstances.

Once touched by the passion, however, the "ulcerate" condition of soul,[44] which led Spenser's Phedon to pass on from one crime to another, settles upon the character of Romeo and a slow disintegration sets in. When next we see him (3. 2.) he is pathetically dominated by its influence. His whole soul and being are entirely identified with his love of Juliet, so that he rebels in a spirit of contumacy against the "loss" of Juliet[45] implicit in his Prince's sentence of banishment. The greater part of the scene is a dramatization of such a work as More's *Dyalogue of Comforte,* with Laurence in the role of philo-

sopher giving a practical demonstration of how to allay passion and to reinstall reason upon its throne. Of course, the Friar's "wisdom" is based upon purely worldly consideration, *e.g.,* the fact that in killing Tybalt, Romeo rid himself of his mortal enemy (11. 137-8), and in that respect differs totally from More's purely Christian considerations; but the method is the same in each: by reason to win acceptance for and find consolation in a present sorrow.

At the outset, when the Friar informs Romeo of his lot, he counsels him to be patient (11. 16-17), but Romeo ungratefully refuses to accept the kindness of the Prince, an act which the Friar very positively condemns:

> O deadly sin! O rude unthankfulness! (1. 24)

For the Elizabethans regarded ingratitude as the most horrible of all evils, because it was unnatural, irrational, and beastly and therefore particularly unbecoming to a nobleman.[46]

Since Romeo persists in his unreason, the Friar calls him a "fond mad man" (1. 52) and offers to comfort him with "adversity's sweet milk, philosophy," (11. 55-6), but Romeo will have none of it, he will neither see nor hear (11. 28 and 61), places his affections before his reason, falls into a doting rage, for which the Friar had once before rebuked him (2. 3. 82), tears his hair, and falls upon the ground. Even the Nurse upbraids him for his unmanly conduct (1. 88). In desperation he attempts to commit suicide, but the Friar rebukes him vehemently:

> Hold thy desperate hand.
> Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art:
> Thy tears are womanish, thy wild acts denote
> The unreasonable fury of a beast.
> Unseemly woman in a seeming man!
> Or ill-beseeming beast in seeming both!
> Thou hast amaz'd me. By my holy order,
> I thought thy disposition better temper'd. (11. 108-115)

As we have seen, the commonplaces of Renaissance treatments of anger included the idea that it was a womanish vice. The passage under consideration may be taken to mean that Romeo is an effeminate character but such a view cannot be reconciled with the facts in the case, e.g., with Romeo's obviously ample courage as revealed in

his duels with Tybalt and Paris or with his contempt for danger when he enters the enemy's stronghold (2. 2. 62-73). The charge of womanishness can only be explained as a dramatic way of depicting the passion. It should be noted that Friar Laurence is amazed and evidently disappointed at Romeo's conduct and rebukes him for not accepting the will of heaven. When the Friar concludes, the Nurse exclaims, "O, what learning is!" (1. 160) and Romeo, reclaimed from his fall, comments gratefully,

> How well my comfort is reviv'd by this (1. 165)

Romeo takes his last farewell of Juliet in 3. 5. and we see him no more until 5. 1. When he enters at the latter point he is elated with bright thoughts and the effects of pleasant dreams—and suddenly, news from Verona. He listens in stony silence. "Then I defy you stars!" (1. 24).[47] And he is, as he was before, a furious man, defiant of heaven and desperate. Determining upon his course in a split second, he will be gone toward Verona. Balthazar is frightened by his looks and begs him to have patience, but does not seem at all to deter him from purchasing the poison. We see him next in the final scene. He gives instructions to Balthazar and concludes:

> Therefore hence, be gone.
> But if thou, jealous, dost return to pry
> In what I farther shall intend to do,
> By heaven, I will tear thee joint by joint
> And strew this hungry church yard with thy limbs.
> The time and my intents are savage-wild,
> More fierce and more inexorable far
> Than empty tigers or the roaring sea. (11. 32-39)

That is indeed the fury that is "a way to madnesse," the mood in which Ecelinus "rent his skin from his owne flesh," and "roared like a mad beast." and again Balthazar testifies that Romeo's looks are cause of much anxiety (1. 44). Romeo forces open the tomb, and Paris, who had hidden close by at Romeo's coming, now moves forward to arrest him. Paris is a kinsman of the Prince, we may suppose, since Mercutio is "the Prince's near ally" (3. 1. 114) and Paris is described as "Mercutio's kinsman" (5. 3. 75). Hence, despite his youth, he speaks with authority and would apprehend Romeo as a "condemned villain" who by returning from banishment has forfeited even the right to life (11. 49-57). But Romeo will not submit. Grown suddenly old, he pleads with Paris:

> Good gentle youth, tempt not a desp'rate man;
> . . . . . .
> Put not another sin upon my head
> By urging me to fury. O be gone
> . . . . . .
> Live and hereafter say
> A madman's mercy bid thee run away. (11. 59-67.)

But Paris persists in his effort to place him under arrest as a felon, whereupon Romeo draws:

> Wilt thou provoke me? Then have at thee, boy! (1. 70.)

In the ensuing fight he kills Paris and having delivered himself of his final thoughts, kills himself.

It seems worthwhile to point out, as I have indicated above, the significance of the changes which Shakespeare wrought in his sources here. As in 3. 1., the changes are all calculated to complicate the action. The chief change is, of course, the introduction of Paris at this point, who has come to do honor to Juliet. As soon as Paris recognizes Romeo, he assumes the right to act in the Prince's name and to arrest Romeo. This provides the occasion upon which, like Phedon, Romeo kills his rival and it heightens his own desperate emotion at the moment of self-slaughter. It also, of course, has the effect of focussing attention at an important dramatic moment upon the decisive characteristics of the tragic hero.[48]

To recapitulate, the conception of the tragic hero is that of an essentially noble and highly promising youth who is regarded by his contemporaries as a person of virtue and substantial qualities. He is the respected companion of the restrained and prudent Benvolio and the admired intimate and friend of "the Prince's near ally," Mercutio. Extremely young, he is presented in the light of Renaissance views of youth. He is susceptible to love-melancholia; he is bold, hasty, and impetuous; and he is inclined to over-indulge his affections:

> The sins of youth are temerity, indiscreet forwardnesse, [i.e. hastiness] and unbridled liberty and ouergreedy desire of pleasure, which are naturall things proceeding from the heat of the bloud and naturall vigor, and therefore the more excusable . . . [49]

It must not be thought, then, that Romeo's youthful weaknesses are incompatible with an idea of tragic greatness in his character. On the other hand, as a man, Romeo reveals noble and superior instincts. There is admirable decency and chaste intention in every phase of his relations with Juliet. His weakness lies only in that he has not yet attained to that philosophical richness of mind which Hamlet has reached when he meets the great crisis in his life. And although he opposes it with all the resolution of which youth is capable, that is not enough. His youth renders him peculiarly vulnerable to the temptations of the moment and the atmosphere of evil contention and furious choler which pervades the play from first to last (the play begins with a pun on the word choler, 1. 1. 1-6) engulfs him completely.[50]

Once he succumbs, all the terrible effects of the vice as described by the moral philosophers and as illustrated in the allegory of Spenser begin to manifest themselves. The grief which ensues upon his yielding to anger, his banishment and loss of his beloved, begets a contumacious opposition to the will of heaven from which he is recured by the timely "comfort" of Friar Laurence. When, however, the false news is brought to him at Mantua of the death of Juliet, he again defies heaven, settles immediately upon a desperate course and purchases the poison with which he intends to destroy himself. Having arrived at the Capulet tomb in a mood of wild savagery he encounters and murders Paris and ends his own earthly misery.

These detailed considerations of the ethical, social, and literary provenance of *Romeo and Juliet* strongly support an interpretation of the play as one in which the hero perishes because of a tragic flaw or weakness in his character. This conception of the play would draw it out of the category of purely fatalistic tragedy in which the hero is blameless and hence without responsibility for his own death, a category into which a large number of reputable modern critics have thrust it, and accommodate it to the Bradleian view that Romeo is in fact the author, at least in part, of his own fate, and that *Romeo and Juliet* differs not in kind, but only in degree from the tragedies of Shakespeare's maturity.

This is not to say that other aspects of the play are unimportant. All the elements which critics have observed are present in great force: Fortune, Fate, the accidents of birth, time, and place score heavily and seem almost to nullify the force of the human ego and

to dwarf the significance of the freedom of the human will. This is not, of course, a philosophical eccentricity of *Romeo and Juliet.* It is a view emphasized also in what are called the Great Tragedies. The presence in the text of *Romeo and Juliet,* however, of the mortal surrender of the hero to a tragic passion must not be overlooked.

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[1]William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill, edd., *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (Houghton Mifflin Co.: New York, 1942) p. 975.

[2](Thomas Y. Crowell Co.: New York, 1925) pp. 170-1.

[3]Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare: Twenty-three Plays and the Sonnets,* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1938) pp. 166-7.

[4]Sir Edmund K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey,* (London, 1929) pp. 70-71.

[5]Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare,* (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1940) pp. 220-21.

[6]F. S. Boas, *Shakspere and his Predecessors,* (New York, 1896), p. 214.

[7]Other significant treatments of the play from this point of view will be found in H. B. Charlton, *'Romeo and Juliet' as an Experimental Tragedy,* (London, 1940); Morton Luce, *Handbook to Shakespeare's Works* (London, 1906), p. 424; and Theodore Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1942), pp. 90-92.

[8]Hardin Craig, "The Shackling of Accidents," *Philological Quarterly,* XIX, 12-13.

[9]*Ibid.,* p. 13.

[10]A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy,* (London, 1905: second ed. reprinted 1941), pp. 21-22.

[11]*Ibid.,* p. 18.

[12]Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes Slaves of Passion,* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), Section III, Mirrors of Passion, pp. 107-239. Lear's passion is further carefully anatomized by J. W. Ashton, "The Wrath of King Lear," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XXXI (1932), 530-536.

[13]*Ibid.,* pp. 176-7. It should be added that Miss Campbell herself uses the terms *rage* and *fury* (p. 182) as if they were not synonyms for *anger* or *wrath.* But see these two terms in *NED.* Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* employs the terms *rage* (1. 1. 91), *choler* (1. 5. 91), and *fury* (3. 1. 129). These and all subsequent references to *Romeo and Juliet* are to the text of George Lyman Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* (Ginn and Co.: New York, 1936).

[14]*Ibid.,* p. 182. The opposition between anger and patience is a commonplace of Renaissance thinking. "As water quencheth fire: so patience extinguisheth anger." Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia,* with an introduction by Don Cameron Allen, *(Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints,* New York, 1938), Sig. 04.

[15]Sir Thomas More, *A Dyalogue of Comforte agaynste Tribulacyon,* Bk. I, Ch. vi Bound with the *Utopia* in the Everyman's Library, ed. Ernest Rhys, p. 138. Miss Campbell cites this passage but only in order to relate it to *Hamlet* (*op. cit.,* pp. 114-5).

[16]*Ibid.,* p. 141.

[17]J. J. Munro, ed., *Brooke's 'Romeus and Juliet,'* (Duffield & Co.: New York, 1908), 1. 1306.

[18]Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie,* trans, into English by T. B., third edition, London, 1594, pp. 308-9, as quoted by Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

[19]Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie,* trans. into English by T.B., second edition, London, 1589, Sig. XI.

[20]William Bullein, *Bulleins Bulwarke of Defense against all Sicknesse,* (London, 1579), Sig. ddd6v—Sig. eeei.

[21]*Op. cit.,* Sig. Xlv—X2.

[22]See the lengthy passage quoted from La Primaudaye by Miss Campbell, *op. cit.,* pp. 179-180.

[23]Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Gouernour,* Everyman's Library, ed. Ernest Rhys, (New York, 1907), pp. 136-7.

[24]Peter Charron, *Of Wisdome,* trans. Samson Lennard, London, 1630, Sig. G5v—G6v.

[27]The best comprehensive treatment to be found is in Egerton Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence,* London, 1893. See especially the Introduction and Chapters I and V. The last, entitled "Elizabethan Fencing," supplies a very deepening background for *Romeo and Juliet.* See also G. Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence* (1599) with an introduction by J. Dover Wilson, London, 1933, and the chapter entitled "The Background of Revenge," in Fredson T. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy,* Princeton University Press, 1940. There seems to be no complete and adequate study of the subject.

[28]Furness, *op. cit.,* pp. 120-121.

[29]Vincentio Saviolo, *Saviolo His Practice,* Sig. Bb.

[30]*Ibid.,* Sig. Ii3-Ii4.

[31]G. F., *Duell-Ease:A Word With Valiant Spiritts Shewing the Abuse of Duells,* London, 1635, Sig. G2v.

[32]*Ibid.,* Sig. Clv.

[33]*Ibid.,* Sig. Nl.

[34]James I, *A Publication of His Maties Edict, and Severe Censvre against Priuate Combats and Combatants,* London, 1613, Sig. E2.

[35]*Ibid.,* Sig. A4-A4v.

[36]*Ibid.,* Sig. B.

[37]Thomas Nabbes, *Microcosmus: A Moral Mask,* in *A Select Collection of Old Plays,* ed. R. Dodsley, London, 1744, V, 326.

[38]Brooke, *op. cit.,* opposite p. lxxviii.

[39]*Op. cit.,* p. 20.

[40]Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* with an introduction by Don Cameron Allen, (*Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints,* New York, 1938), Sig. Mm6v.

[41]Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Batman vppon Bartholome,* tr. Stephen Batman, London, East, 1582, Sig. Ccii[v].

[42]Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain, Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama,* (Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1937). See especially p. 276. See also pp. 71-75 *et passim.*

[43]*Op. cit.* Sig. B4v.

[44]See the passage from Plutarch, *Of Meeknes, or How a Man should Refrain Choler,* as quoted by Campbell, *op. cit.,* pp. 178-9.

[45]See the quotation from More, p. 6 above.

[46]E. Catherine Dunn, *The Concept of Ingratitude in Renaissance English Moral Philosophy,* (Washington, 1946) pp. 3-22 and 88-89.

[47]This opposition to Providence seems to have been transferred from an earlier passage in Brooke (11. 1750-54) indicated above which otherwise has no counterpart in *Romeo and Juliet.*

[48]It may be noted that Shakespeare's heroine differs from Brooke's chiefly in the fact that she is, as far as any explicit reference in the text is concerned, completely untouched by the passion of Romeo.

[49]Charron, *op. cit.,* Sig. 15v.

[50]Romeo's "indiscreet forwardnesse" at this critical juncture illustrates the Elizabethan notion that precipitate action springing from anger is the characteristic trait of youth:

> . . . he must aboue all things auoid precipitation, an enemy to wisdome, the step-mother of all good actions, a vice much to be feared in young and youthfull people . . . It proceedeth commonly from that passion which carieth vs; *Nam qui cupit, festinat:qui festinat evertit: unde festinatio improvida & caeca: duo adversissima rectae menti celeritas & ira: For who so desires, doth hasten; who hasteth, destroyeth: hastiness therefore is improuident and blinde: hastinesse and anger are two of the greatest adversaries to a discreet minde:* and often enough from insufficiency. Charron, *op. cit.* Sig. Z4- Z4v. See Brooke, 11. 1655-6 quoted above.

AN OUTLINE OF SHAKSPERE'S ENGLISH HISTORY PLAYS

By Karl J. Holzknecht

THE philosophy of history and politics which animates Shakspere's plays on the English past has been frequently described and is by now at least a twice told tale.[1] His use of historical sources has also been thoroughly investigated, and his debt to contemporary historians acknowledged.[2] But, though the shaping hand and mind of the dramatist have been followed in detail, no attempt has been made to present in brief what Shakspere selected, how he arranged his materials, or what he found it necessary to invent to make history suitable for the stage. It is the purpose of this paper to present clearly, but without interpretation, an outline of what Shakspere treated in his history plays. The order of events is that of the dramas themselves, and it is not always the order of history.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN

Dates of the Reign: 1199-1216.

Period Covered by the Play: Summer, 1199-October, 1216.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: ENGLISH NATIONALISM VS. ENTANGLING FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

(I) Embassage of Chatillon from Philip of France (unhistorical); claim of Arthur Plantagenet through Philip of France to the throne not only of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine (historical), but also of England and Ireland (unhistorical); quarrel between the Faulconbridge brothers over their inheritance (unhistorical, but developed from similar stories of Morgan of Beverly, brother of King John [told by Stow] and of Jean du Dunois, son of Lewis, duke of Orleans in the 15th century [told by Hall]).

(II) John's compromise with Philip of France; betrothal of Blanche of Castile to Lewis the Dauphin (1200).

(III) Embassage of Pandulph from Innocent III (1211); John's defiance of the Papacy over the appointment of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury (1207-11); excommunication and deposition of

John by papal decree (1212); war between England and France (1202, 1212); death of Limoges at the hands of Philip, bastard son of Richard Coeur de Lion (1199); capture of Arthur (1202); claim to the English throne by Lewis the Dauphin through Blanche of Castile (1216).

(IV) Purposed blinding of Arthur (1202); second coronation of John (1202); rumored death of Arthur (1202); invasion of Kent by the French (1216); death of Queen Elinor (1204); prophecy of Peter of Pomfret (1212); appearance of five moons (1200); death of Arthur (1203); defection of the barons (1213).

(V) John's submission to the pope, resignation of the crown and its return as a papal fief, fulfillment of the prophecy of Peter of Pomfret (1213); homage of the English barons to the Dauphin (1213-16); withdrawal of the papal support to the French claim (1216); battle with the French (1217); exposure of French treachery by Melune; death of King John; return of the English barons (1216). [There is no mention of Runnymede and Magna Carta (1215)].

THE TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND

Dates of the Reign: 1377-1399.

Period Covered by the Play: April, 1398-February, 1400.

Hstorical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: THE LANCASTRIAN REVOLUTION OF 1399.

(I) Accusations of embezzlement, the treasons of the past eighteen years, and responsibility for the death of Thomas of Woodstock made by Henry of Bolingbroke against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (1398); their meeting in the lists at Coventry, banishment of both (1398); farming out of the realm by Richard to William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Treasurer, Sir John Bushy, Sir William Bagot. and Sir William Green, and issue of blank charters as sources of revenue (1398).

(II) Death of John of Gaunt (1399); rebellion in Ireland; confiscation of Henry of Bolingbroke's inheritance; appointment of the Duke of York as Lord Governor during King Richard's absence in Ireland; defection of the barons by Richard's misrule; return of Henry of Bolingbroke; resignation of the Earl of Worcester as Lord High Steward; flight of the king's favorites: Wiltshire, Bushy, Bagot, and Green; Bolingbroke's

oath that he returned only to claim his inheritance; meeting of York and Bolingbroke; rumors of Richard's death; disbanding of the Welsh troops (1399).

(III) Capture and execution of Wiltshire, Bushy, and Green (1399); return of Richard; meeting with Bolingbroke at Flint Castle (1399); the queen's reception of news of Richard's troubles (unhistorical).

(IV) Accusation by Bagot, Fitzwater, and others of the complicity of Aumerle in Woodstock's death; death at Venice of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; denunciations of Bolingbroke's acts by the Bishop of Carlisle (antedated by about a month; Carlisle's prophecy of civil war is unhistorical); abdication of King Richard and his imprisonment in the Tower; plot of the Abbot of Westminster and others against Bolingbroke (the Oxford Plot) (1399).

(V) Parting of Richard and his queen (unhistorical); prophecy of Richard concerning the Percy rebellion (unhistorical); imprisonment of Richard in Pomfret Castle (1399); Bolingbroke's reception by the Londoners (1399); Aumerle's complicity in the Oxford Plot (1400); murder of King Richard by Pierce of Exton (1400).

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH

Dates of the Reign: 1399-1413.

Period Covered by the Play: September, 1402-July, 1403.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CIVIL WAR: THE PERCY REBELLION.

(Except for the legend of the wild youth of Prince Hal, the Falstaff scenes of both *1* and *2 Henry IV* are wholly unhistorical.)

(I) Rising in Wales; capture of Edmund Mortimer by Owen Glendower and marriage of Mortimer with Glendower's daughter (1402); defeat of the Scots at Holmedon (1402); King Henry's demand of the Scottish prisoners and refusal to ransom Mortimer; defection of Northumberland, Hotspur, and Worcester (1402).

(II) Harry Hotspur's disregard of a temporizing letter (unhistorical).

(III) Meeting of the conspirators at Bangor to divide the kingdom (1405, after Hotspur's death, but reported by Holinshed under 1403); lack

of success of King Henry's expedition against the Welsh (1402); reproach of Prince Hal by King Henry for his ignoble life, and reconciliation between father and son (1412); preparation for civil war (1403).

(IV) Mobilization of the rebel forces at Shrewsbury, illness of Northumberland (1403); King Henry's offer of pardon to the Percys (1403).

(V) Deception of Hotspur by the double dealing of Worcester; battle of Shrewsbury; death of Henry Hotspur (but by hands unknown); capture and execution of Worcester and Vernon; capture and release of Douglas (1403).

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH

Dates of the Reign: 1399-1413.

Period Covered by the Play: July, 1403-April, 1413.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CIVIL WAR: COMPLETE SUPPRESSION OF FACTION.

(I) Rumors and news of Shrewsbury (1403); rebellion of Archbishop Scroop of York (1405).

(II) Flight of Northumberland to Scotland (1405).

(III) Death of Owen Glendower (1409, according to Holinshed).

(IV) Meeting of the rival forces at Shipton Moor in Gaultree Forest; politic dealing of Westmorland; arrest and execution of Archbishop Scroop, Mowbray, and Hastings (1405); illness of King Henry (1412); defeat and death of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph (1408); episode of the crown (1413); death of King Henry IV (1413).

(V) Accession of King Henry V; dismissal of his unworthy associates; coronation of Henry V (1413).

THE LIFE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH

Dates of the Reign: 1413-1422.

Period Covered by the Play: Spring, 1414-May, 1420.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CONQUEST OF FRANCE.

(I) Parliament bill for disendowing the church (1414); claim of Henry, encouraged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the French throne; embassage from France, insult of the tennis balls (1414).

(II) Preparation for war (1415); treason of Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey, and their execution (1415); embassy of Exeter from King Henry to the French (1415).

(III) Siege and surrender of Harfleur (1415); French council of war (1415); Henry's just and charitable conduct of the war, episode of the theft of a pyx by a soldier [Bardolph]; defiance of the French; their over-confidence and play at dice for the English prisoners and spoil (1415).

(IV) Sobriety of the English and the sickness and hardship they endured; suggestion by the French that Henry agree upon a ransom; its refusal; battle of Agincourt; rally of the French, plunder of the English camp by the French prisoners, and the order for their execution; victory of the English; return of Henry to Calais (1415).

(V) Treaty of Troyes; betrothal of King Henry and Katherine of Valois; Henry named heir of France (1420).

THE FIRST PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: November, 1422-July, 1453.

Historial Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: ENGLAND'S LOSS OF FRANCE AND GROWTH OF CIVIL FACTIONS.

(I) Funeral of King Henry V (1422); revolt of the French (1422); loss of Guienne (1451), Champagne (1429), Rheims (1429), Orleans (fictitious, not in English possession in Henry V's time), Paris (1436), Guisor's (1449), Poitiers (fictitious, not in English possession), Rouen (1449); coronation of Charles VII at Rheims (1429, but proclaimed at Poitiers, 1422); capture of Talbot (1429); cowardice of Sir John Fastolfe (1429); Winchester's intention to kidnap the young king from Eltham (charged, 1426); siege of Orleans (1428-9); meeting of Charles VII and Joan of Arc (1429); dissension be-

tween Humphrey of Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (1425); ransom of Talbot (1433; according to Holinshed, 1431); death of Salisbury and Gargrave at Orleans (1428), in the presence of Talbot (unhistorical); relief of Orleans by Joan of Arc and Charles (1429).

(II) Recapture of Orleans by Talbot (fictitious, but based upon the account of the recapture of Le Mans, 1428); burial of Salisbury (1428); interview of Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne (fictitious); dissension between Richard Plantagenet and the Earl of Somerset, the plucking of red roses and white in the Temple Gardens (unhistorical); meeting of Edmund Mortimer and Richard Plantagenet (unhistorical); death of Mortimer, Plantagenet his heir (1425).

(III) Renewed dissension between Gloucester and Winchester, their outward reconciliation (1426); Richard Plantagenet created duke of York (1426); proposed coronation of Henry VI in France (1431); loss and recovery of Rouen (unhistorical); cowardice of Sir John Fastolfe (repeated); death of Bedford, regent of France (1435); Burgundy's desertion of his English allies (1435) at Joan of Arc's persuasion (unhistorical); Talbot created Earl of Shrewsbury (1442).

(IV) Coronation of King Henry VI at Paris (1431); Fastolfe deprived of the Garter (1429), by Talbot (historically by Bedford); strife between the factions of the roses; York regent of France, Somerset military commander (1443?); imbroglio between York and Somerset over relief of Talbot (unhistorical); siege of Bordeaux, death of Talbot and his son (1453).

(V) Overtures of peace between England and France (1435); betrothal of Henry VI to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac (1442); loss of Paris (1436); capture and execution of Joan of Arc (1430-31); truce between the English and the French (1444); arrangement by Suffolk of a marriage between Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI (1444), Humphrey of Gloucester opposed, (the infatuation of Suffolk with Margaret is unhistorical).

THE SECOND PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1445-May, 1455.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: GROWTH OF CIVIL FACTIONS BEGINNING OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

(I) Arrival of Margaret, England's "dear bought" queen (1445); continued rivalry of Gloucester and Winchester; impatience of Queen Margaret at King Henry's submissiveness to Gloucester; conspiracy against Humphrey of Gloucester (1446-7); impeachment of an armorer [Thomas Horner] by his servant [Peter Thump] (1446); love of Queen Margaret for Suffolk (unhistorical); appointment of Somerset regent in France, replacing York (1446); arrest of Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, on charges of sorcery (1441).

(II) Sham miracle at St. Albans [from Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue . . . of Images and Reliques,* 1530]; support of York's claim by the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury (1447-8?); sentence of Eleanor Cobham (1441); dismissal of Gloucester as Protector (1446); judicial duel between the armorer and his servant (1446); penance of Eleanor Cobham (1441).

(III) Further losses in France (1450); arrest of Humphrey of Gloucester (1447); rebellion in Ireland, York regent in Ireland (1448); murder of Humphrey of Gloucester (1447); suspicion of Suffolk by the Commons (1449-50); banishment of Suffolk (1450); death of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (1447).

(IV) Death of Suffolk (1450); Jack Cade's rebellion (1450); return of York from Ireland (1450), to raise an army to claim the crown (1452); death of Cade (1450); Somerset committed to the Tower at York's demand (1452).

(V) Meeting of York and an embassy from the king near Dartford, resulting at first in submission of York; then, at the release of Somerset, in mutual accusations of treason (1452); and the outbreak of civil war (1455); Yorkist victory at the first battle of St. Albans and death of Somerset (1455).

THE THIRD PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1455-May, 1471.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

(I) Flight of King Henry from the battle of St. Albans (fictitious); assembly of Parliament (1455, 1460, combined); York sits in the chair of state (1460); York declared heir to the throne and protector of the realm (1460); outbreak of hostilities, Lancastrian victory at Wakefield, capture, humiliation, and death of York and his son Rutland (1460).

(II) Appearance of three suns on the morning of the Yorkist victory at Mortimer's Cross (1461); Lancastrian victory at the second battle of St. Albans (1461); knighting of Edward, Prince of Wales (1461); Yorkist victory at Towton, death of Clifford, and flight of King Henry and Queen Margaret to Scotland; coronation of Edward IV (1461); proposed marriage of King Edward with Bona of France (1464); creation of Richard duke of Gloucester and George duke of Clarence (1461).

(III) Capture and imprisonment of King Henry VI (1465); marriage of King Edward and the widow Grey [Elizabeth Woodville] (1464); Queen Margaret in France (1462, 1464-70); Warwick in France (1464); defection of Warwick (1468); defection of Clarence (1468); league with Margaret (1470); marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, to Warwick's younger daughter [Anne] (1470); marriage of Clarence to Warwick's eldest daughter (1469).

(IV) Capture of King Edward (1469); restoration of King Henry VI (1470); Warwick and Clarence joint protectors of the realm (1470); escape of King Edward (1470); proclamation of Edward IV (1471); reimprisonment of Henry VI (1471).

(V) Meeting of the hosts at Coventry, reconciliation of Clarence and Edward (1471); defeat and death of Warwick the Kingmaker at Barnet (1471); defeat of Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury, death of Prince Edward (1471); murder of Henry VI (1471); restoration of Edward IV (1471).

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD

Dates of the Reign: Edward IV: 1471-83; Edward V: 1483; Richard III: 1483-85.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1471-August, 1485.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: UNION OF THE RED ROSE AND THE WHITE ROSE.

(I) Arrest of George, Duke of Clarence (1477); funeral of King Henry VI (1471); wooing of the Lady Anne (fictitious); marriage of Richard and Anne (1472); enmity between the queen's kindred and the king's fostered by Richard; execution of Clarence, episode of the malmsey-butt (1478).

(II) Attempted reconciliation of court factions by King Edward (1483); death of Edward IV (1483); Richard made protector (1483); public fear of political change (1483); capture of Prince Edward, arrest of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan (1483); Queen Elizabeth takes sanctuary with the Duke of York (1483).

(III) Entrance into London of King Edward V; York brought from sanctuary; both lodged in the Tower; sounding out of Hastings by Gatesby; promise of reward to Buckingham; execution of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan; assembly of the lords in the Tower, episode of the strawberries; execution of Hastings; attainder of the princes; Richard offered the crown (1483).

(IV) Coronation of King Richard III (1483); rumor of the illness of Queen Anne (1485); murder of the princes in the Tower (1483); defection of Buckingham (1483); death of Queen Anne (1485); Richard's offer of marriage to his niece Elizabeth of York, through her mother (1485); capture of Buckingham (1483).

(V) Execution of Buckingham (1483); expedition of Henry of Richmond (1483, 1485); defeat and death of King Richard at Bosworth Field (1485); proclamation of Henry of Richmond as King Henry VII and of his marriage to Elizabeth of York (1485).

THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF KING HENRY THE EIGHT

Dates of the Reign: 1509-47.

Period Covered by the Play: June, 1520-July, 1544.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: INTRIGUE AT THE TUDOR COURT.

(I) Meeting of King Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520); enmity between the Duke of Buckingham and Cardinal Wolsey (1520); breach of peace, attachment of English goods by the French at Bordeaux (1522) visit of the Emperor Charles V to England, his bribery of Wolsey (1520); arrest of Buckingham (1521); opposition to Wolsey's tax commissions to finance the French wars (1525); intercession of Queen Katherine (unhistorical); accusation of treason against Buckingham (1521); criticism of Gallicized Englishmen (1519); revels at the Cardinal's palace in York Place (1527), meeting of Henry VIII and Anne Bullen there (unhistorical).

(II) Trial and execution of Buckingham (1521); beginning of divorce proceedings against Katherine of Arragon (1527); Cardinal Campeius in England (1528); Anne Bullen created marchioness of Pembroke (1532); trial of Queene Katherine, her appeal to the pope (1529).

(III) Interview of Wolsey and Campeius with Katherine (1529); dissimulation of Wolsey, displeasure of the king (1529); return of Campeius to Rome (1529); marriage of Henry and Anne (1532, according to Holinshed); Katherine named Princess Dowager as the widow of Prince Arthur (1533); Wolsey's aspirations to the papacy (1529); interception of Wolsey's papers by the king (unhistorical, but based upon a mischance that befell Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, in which Wolsey had a hand); fall of Wolsey (1529); Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor (1529); Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury (1533).

(IV) Coronation of Queen Anne (1533); death of Wolsey (1530); death of Queen Katherine (1536).

(V) Conspiracy against Cranmer (1544); birth of Princess Elizabeth (1533); Cranmer's appearance before the Council (1544); baptism of Princess Elizabeth (1533).

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[1]See, among others, Beverly E. Warner, *English History in Shakespeare's Plays*. New York, 1894; J. A. R. Marriot, *English History in Shakespeare*, London, 1918; E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays*, London, 1946; and Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*, San Marino, 1947.

[2]See for example, *Shakespeare's Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone, London, 1896.

"HANG UP PHILOSOPHY"*

By Thomas P. Harrison, Jr.

THE course of events in *Romeo and Juliet* faithfully confirms the promise of the prologue as the star-crossed lovers are borne swiftly to their doom. Reiterated emphasis through the play upon the operation of fate, a power above human control, leaves little room for doubt concerning the cause of the play's tragic issues. Professor Bradley voices the general opinion when he states that "the love of Romeo and Juliet conducts them to death only because of the senseless hatred of their houses."[1] The prominence of this motif has, however, served to obscure another, less pronounced but entirely explicit, voiced by Friar Lawrence in a philosophy which Romeo bids him hang up. The Friar's meditations about "balefull weeds and precious-juiced flowers" not only, as often remarked, dramatically anticipate the contrasting roles of sleeping potion and poison but, carried over into his interviews with Romeo, they provide a consistent commentary upon the play as a whole, a contrasting counterpart of the opening prologues. Examination of the origins of this natural philosophy, voiced on the Friar's first appearance, leads to an understanding of its significance for the play as a whole. This philosophy, a distinct entity in the play, originates in contemporary plant lore. Passages from the Latin Pliny and from the English Bartholomew demonstrate the ultimate sources of a plant philosophy which in Shakspere's version of the Romeo story has a significant bearing upon the meaning of the play.

As he goes out to gather plants, Friar Lawrence thus dilates on the traditional relationships of men and plants (II, iii, 9-30):

> The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb.
> What is her burying grave, that is her womb;
> And from her womb children of divers kind
> We sucking on her natural bosom find,
> Many for many virtues excellent,
> None but for some, and yet all different.

*Read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association at Detroit, December, 1947.

O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies
In plant, herbs, stones, and their true qualities;
For naught so vile that on the earth doth live
But to the earth some special good doth give,
Nor aught so good but, strain'd from that fair use,
Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.
Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,
And vice sometime's by action dignified.
Within the infant rind of this weak flower
Poison hath residence, and medicine power:
For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part;
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.
Two such opposed kings encamp them still
In man as well as herbs, grace and rude will;
And where the worser is predominant,
Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.

The originality of this passage is apparent after a comparison with Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet,* where the Friar is described as follows (565 ff.):

Not as the most was he a grosse unlearned foole:
But doctor of divinitie proceded he in schoole.
The secretes eke he knew in natures woorkes that loorke:
By magiks arte most men supposd that he could wonders woorke.
Ne doth it ill beseeme devines those skils to know:
If on no harmefull deede they do such skilfulnes bestow.
For iustly of no arte can men condemne the use:
But right and reasons lore crye out agaynst the lewd abuse.[2]

And William Painter's friar declares, "I have proved the secrete properties of Stones, of Plants, Metals, and other thinges."[3] Obviously, Shakspere carries over the moral tone of Brooke. The heart of the later passage lies, however, in the idea of a beneficient earth who lavishes her wealth upon humanity, no plant without its divine and secret purpose, ignorance of which brings abuse and consequent disaster. Upon the exercise of grace or rude will depends man's weal or woe. Here the poet reflects the tradition, not of the Romeo legend, but of the herbal.

Implicit in every treatise upon plants, closely similar expression

to this view of the relation of plants and man is found in the *Natural History* of Pliny:

> Nothing has been created by Nature without some purpose to fulfill, unrevealed to us though it may be. . . . Nature who, as we will prove beyond a doubt, has never failed in coming to the assistance of man, and has implanted remedies for our use in the most despised even of the vegetable productions, medicaments in plants which repel us with their thorns. . . . Thus we see, the very qualities even which we hold in such aversion, have been devised by Nature for the benefit and advantage of mankind. . . . Nature herself, that common parent of all things, has at once produced them, and has discovered to us their properties.

The marvelous use of deadly poisons is illustrated, Pliny continues, in the virtue of aconite as a counterpoison:

> Such is the nature of this deadly plant that it kills man unless it can find in man something else to kill. . . . two poisons, each of them of a deadly nature, destroy one another within the body, and the man survives.[4]

Here Pliny gives precise and generalized expression to two ideas of the Friar: first, the earth as the kindly nurse of mankind, "eandemque omnium parentem,"[5] and second, the usefulness of both vile and vicious plants. This latter doctrine, suggested by the virtues of the fatal aconite, is directly reflected in Shakespeare's line, never satisfactorily explained,

> And vice sometime's by action dignified.

In other words, the action of vicious plants such as aconite is dignified in its use as a cure for scorpion stings.

Pliny's doctrine suggested by aconite applies generally to poisonous plants. Shakspere's Friar now illustrates it by a description of one of the important narcotics, the mandrake:

> Within the infant rind of this weak flower
> Poison hath residence, and medicine power:
> For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part:
> Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.

With the Pliny doctrine cited there is no verbal similarity. The des-

cription of the mandrake in Batman's famous translation of Bartholomew suggests, however, a more intimate relationship.

> And apples grow on ye leaves, as galls grow on Oken leaves, and be yeolow and sweet of smell, but with manner of heavinesse, and be fresh in savour, and accord not therefore to meat, but onely to medicine. For rindes thereof sod in Wine, cause sleepe, and abateth all maner sorenesse: and so that time a man feeleth unneath, though he bee cut. But Mandragora must be warily used; for it slayeth if men take much thereof, as he [Dioscorides] sayeth. . . . The smel of the apples is hevy, and breedeth sleep only with smell, as he [Pliny] saith.[6]

Here the immature mandrake apple, growing in the center of the flowers or "leaves," *Shakspere* terms the "infant rind of this weak flower." Batman describes the apples as "sweet of smell," "fresh in savour"; Shakspere writes that the smell "cheers each part." Batman states that a concoction of the "rindes," unless warily used, "slayeth." Shakspere's Friar more emphatically, if less exactly, states that a taste "slays all senses with the heart." In short, both dwell upon the effect of smell and taste in markedly similar language.

Thus, the Friar's dissertation reflects the general philosophy of plants as found in Pliny, including the discourse on the deadly aconite. Moreover, the Friar's major illustration closely follows Bartholomew's description of the mandrake. Nature's beneficence is easily abused through the ignorant employment of aconite or mandrake—both dangerous yet useful plants. In man rests the responsibility for the exercise of grace or rude will. These are the "two opposed kings" of the Friar's discourse. It now appears that the two crucial events of the play hinge upon the successive operation of these two herbs.

First is the sleeping potion, in which traditionally the mandrake was a major constituent; and Juliet's allusion to "mandrakes torn out of the earth" confirms the prominence of this famous herb in the poet's thought.[7] Here the "grace" of the Friar is directed to save Juliet from the imminent marriage with Paris. Shakspere's sources determine the importance of the potion in the story; the originality lies in the unifying element which links the mandrake potion with the Friar's earlier description of the nature, virtues, and danger of this plant. Mandrake is one of the cold narcotics. In this play of contrasts this plant is counterbalanced by a second poison, "hot in the fourth degree," as described by the herbalists. That this second poison,

sold by the apothecary to Romeo as the agent of his suicide, is no other than aconite, is confirmed by several passages which appear not only to identify this poison but to bear directly upon Romeo's character. Romeo asks for (V, i, 60-64):

> A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear
> As will disperse itself through all the veins
> That the life-weary taker may fall dead,
> And that the trunk may be discharged of breath
> *As violently as hasty powder fir'd*
> *Doth hurry from the fatal cannon's womb.*

The traditional rapidity and violence of aconite Shakspere in *2 Henry IV* (IV, iv, 48) compares directly with the action of "rash gunpowder"; and this, as often noted, makes likely the same association in the present passage. But, as with the earlier mandrake passage, the Friar had anticipated the danger inherent in "rude will," one of the opposed kings, as it applied to plants. Moreover, the Friar twice compares the violence of Romeo's actions to that of gunpowder. In answer to Romeo's ironic reference to love-devouring death on the occasion of his marriage the Friar warns (II, vi, 9-11):

> These violent delights have violent ends,
> And in their triumph die, *like fire and powder*
> Which, as they kiss, consume.

Later, as he witnesses Romeo's violation of the doctrine of moderation in attempting suicide, the Friar reproaches him in terms which recall his earlier pronouncement as well as his initial discourse (III, iii, 122ff):

> Fie, fie! thou sham'st thy shape, thy love, thy wit,
> Which, like a usurer, abound'st in all,
> And *usest none in that true use indeed*
> Which should bedeck thy shape, thy love, thy wit . . .
> Thy wit, that ornament to shape and love,
> Misshapen in the conduct of them both,
> *Like powder in a skilless soldier's flask,*
> Is set afire by thine own ignorance,
> And thou dismember'd with thine own defence.

Here the analogy of human actions with plants bears out in repetitive terms the earlier discourse on human responsibility; and the threefold

figure of gunpowder links by association the later poison bought from the apothecary with the Friar's efforts to restrain the haste and violence of Romeo's actions. The identification of this poison as aconite is important only in so far as the passage describing it is linked with earlier ones which denote the association of Romeo's suicide with Friar Lawrence's role as expositor and exemplar of moderation. From this point of view Romeo's act is the fulfillment of the Friar's warnings, the culmination of a succession of acts in violation of an inexorable law.

"It is wrong, and not wrong, in Romeo, that, in the impetuosity of his passion he forgets" the duty of moderation.[8] Had he been more dutiful there would have been no great tragedy, its greatness measured not in obedience to universal law but in heedless violation. Friar Lawrence and Romeo exemplify the "two opposed kings," grace and rude will. The one represents wit or knowledge in obedience to law, the other youthful feeling. Romeo confirms their incompatibility in his retort (III, iii, 64):

> Thou canst not speak of that thou dost not feel:
> Wert thou as young as I, Juliet thy love,
> An hour but married, Tybalt murdered,
> Doting like me, and like me banished,
> Then mightst thou speak, then mightst thou tear thy hair,
> And fall upon the ground, as I do now,
> Taking the measure of an unmade grave.

The play thus ends in paradox. On the one hand the protagonists are innocent victims of an unreasoned hatred, two star-crossed lovers upon whom heaven practices strategems; but beyond this the poet acknowledges human responsibility and in Romeo he clearly represents the consequence which hangs, not only in the stars, but in ourselves. Friar Lawrence, whose doctrine of moderation is confirmed by his plant studies, is the spokesman of this view. The full meaning of his initial discourse is thus clarified by a glance at its origins in contemporary plant lore, and only in the light of this does his relationship to Romeo become apparent. "Botany," writes Professor Dowden in this regard, "botany is not the science of human life"; and accordingly he discounts these moralisings from "the quietudes of the cloister." But these meditations are translated into an active role directing the destinies of the two lovers and interpreting their actions. For Shakspere, as for Friar Lawrence, "men as plants increase, cheered and

check'd even by the selfsame sky" and governed by a single principle dependent upon grace or rude will. The universal validity of this philosophy, deep-rooted in the thought of the time, gives it significance beyond the mere botanizing of a cloistered priest.

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[1]A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1904), p. 34.

[2]Ed. P. A. Daniel, *New Shakespeare Society* III (London, 1875), p. 22.

[3]*Ibid.*, "Rhomeo and Iulietta," p. 126.

[4]*The Natural History of Pliny*, tr. Bostock and Riley (6 vols., London, 1856), IV, pp. 389 and 395-396, and V, pp. 218-219 (Latin, Bks. XXII, 1 and 7, and XXVII, 1 and 2). Holland's translation of Pliny appeared in 1601, some years after the composition of *Romeo and Juliet*.

[5]With Shakspere Steevens compares Lucretius, V, 259, "Omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulchrum."

[6]*Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), Bk. XVII, ch. 104, p. 305. Cf. Henry Lyte, *A New Herbal* (London, 1578), p. 438: "If one take never so little more in quantitie, then the iust proportion which he ought to take, it killeth the body."

[7]The history of the sleeping potion and its dramatic uses is the subject of a separate study, to appear.

[8]Vischer, *R. and J.*, Variorum ed., p. 150.

[9]Edward Dowden, ed. *R. and J.*, (Indianapolis, n.d.), p. xxxv.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Shakspere Society of Philadelphia, of which our contributor on *Macbeth,* Mr. Henry N. Paul, is dean, is the oldest continuous Shakspere Society in existence. Composed of distinguished lawyers, doctors, university professors and other professional men of the Philadelphia area, it was founded in October 1852 by four men: Messrs. Asa I. Fish, Garrick Mallery, Jr., Furman Sheppard, and Samuel C. Perkins. Subsequently the society has grown to about twenty-three members who dine fortnightly at The Philadelphia Club from October to the annual meeting on Shakspere's birthday in April. After the dinner a play of Shakspere's is read aloud around the table interspersed with pungent and learned comment from the dean who always excites lively discussion. In 1859-60 Dr. Horace Howard Furness, the famous editor of the Variorum Shakspere series, became a member and subsequently served as Dean for many years and then was succeeded by his son, Horace Howard Furness, Jr., who continued the Variorum until his death in 1930. The oldest members of the present society are Dean Henry N. Paul, Judge William B. Linn of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the beloved physicians Dr. Francis R. Packard and Dr. Frederick Fraley; and Francis Fisher Kane, noted lawyer and public benefactor. Among former members in recent days the society remembers with affection James M. Beck and A. Edward Newton.

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The board of trustees of Amherst College, which administers also *The Folger Shakespeare Library,* has announced the appointment of Director Dr. Louis B. Wright to succeed the late Dr. J. Q. Adams. Dr. Wright has been serving as director of research at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Shakespeare Association congratulates Dr. Wright on his appointment and Amherst College on its new program for encouraging research in Shakespeare's life and work, his times and associations. The Folger

endowment on June 30, 1947, had a book value of $6,911,000 and a market value of $8,260,000.

Students who plan to use the library should first read the brochure entitled *The Folger Shakespeare Library* so that they will understand the purposes of the foundation, the scope of the collections of books and manuscripts, and under what conditions they may be used.

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Shakspere lovers should be sure to attend Katherine Cornell's *Antony and Cleopatra,* sumptuously staged at the Martin Beck with attractive lighting and appropriate period sets. Miss Cornell now holds the record for producing a play replete with the maturity of Shakspere's art, but one for which there is no instance of a production in Shakspere's life time, and only a fitful experience on the stage thereafter.

Miss Cornell has been taken to task for not portraying more effectively Cleopatra's sexual charms; but this skilled and intelligent actress knows that the Egyptian queen was not only no beauty, but relied rather upon her brains, her alluring voice, and her "infinite variety." Granville Barker observes that *Antony and Cleopatra* as Shakspere wrote it, contrary to the general expectation, is remarkably free from reliance on sex appeal, perhaps because boy actors who took the youthful feminine roles, could hardly impersonate the tempestuous queen without destroying the romantic illusion. We observed several years ago the disastrous results when Tallulah Bankhead tried to portray Cleopatra as a luxurious siren. Katherine Cornell knows what she is about in not catering to the sex-hungry critics of Broadway.

Leonora Ulric as Charmian, Godfrey Tearle as Antony, and Kent Smith as Enobarbus give outstanding performances, and the whole cast is as competent and balanced as any theatre-goer is likely to see in his life time.

An interesting, if hardly convincing Yiddish version of the story of *The Merchant of Venice,* entitled *Shylock and is Daughter* by Ari Ibn-Azhar has been having good houses at the Yiddish Art Theatre with Lawrence Schwartz taking the lead. The play attempts to put Shylock in a better light than Shakspere cast upon him and to redeem the wayward Jessica. A dispute as to whether Shakspere could have seen Jewish prototypes of Shylock in London, a thesis which has been hotly debated before, calls attention to the studies by Dr. Cecil Roth and Charles J. Sisson which tend to support the affirmative. A translation by Abraham Regelson (Yiddish Art Theatre N. Y. 1947) makes an interesting study in connection with St. John Ervine's *Lady of Belmont,* 1923, the two most noted continuations of Shakspere's play.

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The New York Shakespeare Club joins with members of The Shakespeare Association of America for the annual dinner on April 25. To be held Sunday evening at seven, the dinner will have as its Master of Ceremonies Mr. Clarence Derwent, president of *Equity,* and will be held at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park. Regular announcements will be sent to the membership, together with invitations, at an early date. June Justice is chairman, and Arthur Heine, vice-chairman.